United Nations A/56/PV.44

General Assembly
Fifty-sixth session

Official Records

44th plenary meeting
Saturday, 10 November 2001, 9 a.m.
New York

President: Mr. Han Seung-soo ..... (Republic of Korea)

The meeting was called to order at 9 a.m.

Statement by the President

The President: I would like to welcome the heads of State and Government, as well as other heads of delegation, who have assembled here for the general debate at this important and challenging time. I am particularly heartened by such high-level participation from all Member States despite the rescheduling of the general debate. Let me also express my gratitude for the special arrangements that our host country, the United States of America, and the host city, New York, have made to ensure the maximum convenience and security of all participants.

The heinous terrorist attacks of 11 September were an unspeakable tragedy not just for the United States, but for the entire international community. They deeply affected the work of the United Nations, forcing us to postpone and reschedule various events, including the start of the fifty-sixth session of the General Assembly. The general debate has had to be postponed for seven weeks and the special session on children for an even longer period. Thus, the opening of the general debate today carries with it both a special meaning and a renewed sense of responsibility.

The actions of the United Nations in the past two months give proof of our united response to the challenge. Beginning with the unanimous resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 12 September and the two important resolutions of the Security Council, we have moved quickly and decisively to address the overriding issue of terrorism. Also, progress has been made by the Sixth Committee towards finalizing a comprehensive convention on terrorism. Taking this opportunity, I would like to appeal to all Member States to further strengthen cooperation for an early conclusion of the convention.

But our work has by no means been limited to the issue of terrorism. In view of the time constraints imposed after 11 September, the Member States have acted with increased harmony and expeditiousness to deal with wide-ranging issues of global concern. I congratulate the delegations on what they have achieved thus far and urge them to carry on in the same spirit.

For the United Nations, the last two months were also marked by a uniquely reassuring and encouraging development. We were all delighted and honoured to learn that the Nobel Peace Prize for 2001 had been awarded to the United Nations as such, jointly with its Secretary-General Kofi Annan. I believe that the award should be seen as both a recognition of past achievements and a summons to even greater efforts in the future. It is this heavy responsibility that will be uppermost in my mind when I travel to Oslo in December, along with our Secretary-General, to accept the Prize on behalf of the United Nations.

The issues that we are going to address during the next week in this Hall bear a heightened importance and urgency in view of the current international circumstances. Therefore, I would like to solicit the full cooperation of all participants to ensure a

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productive outcome worthy of our high expectations and of the ideals for which the United Nations stands.

I now give the floor to the Secretary-General.

Statement by the Secretary-General

The Secretary-General: Let me welcome all who have come to New York for this general debate, and especially the President of our host country.

We meet nearly seven weeks later than we had intended — and we all know why.

No words can express our revulsion and sorrow at the senseless loss of life on 11 September. We share in the pain and grief of our host country and host city. Like them, we are determined to overcome the forces that inflicted this ordeal upon us. The United Nations is indeed "the indispensable common house of the entire human family", as our heads of State and Government declared last year, and seldom has the need for it been more widely understood. When a family is under attack, it is in their common house that its members gather to decide what to do.

From the very day after the tragedy, while Members took action in their own countries and regions, their representatives here have been at work — first expressing their condemnation and resolve, then working out in detail how the world can protect itself. The United Nations has also been straining every nerve to bring relief to the suffering people of Afghanistan and to help them reach agreement on a broad-based Government.

One is tempted to say that we must now focus all our energies on the struggle against terrorism and on directly related issues. Yet, if we did so we should give the terrorists a kind of victory.

Let us remember that none of the issues that faced us on 10 September has become less urgent. The number of people living on less than one dollar a day has not decreased. The numbers dying of AIDS, malaria, tuberculosis and other preventable diseases have not decreased. The factors that cause the desert to advance, biodiversity to be lost and the Earth's atmosphere to warm have not decreased. And, in the many parts of the world afflicted by the scourge of war, innocent people have not ceased being murdered or mutilated, dragged or driven from their homes.

In short, my friends, the agenda of pea development and human rights set for us in Millennium Declaration is no less pressing. anything, it has taken on new urgency. Seldom have danger of division within the human family, and need to resist that danger, been more clea understood.

We face two possible futures: a mutua destructive clash between so-called civilizations ba on the exaggeration of religious and cultu differences, or a global community, respect diversity and rooted in universal values. The la must be our choice, but we can achieve it only if bring real hope to the billions now trapped in pove conflict and disease. That is why the current meeting the World Trade Organization is so important. Ne was agreement among nations rich and poor on rules of the international trading system so vita needed.

But even more decisive will be the use t Member States make of this Organization in the ye ahead. Let me recall some fundamental principles which I believe all our work must be guided.

First, the United Nations must always stand the rule of law in international and domestic affairs.

Secondly, we must cherish our multilate institutions and procedures and use them to full effec

Thirdly, the United Nations must place people the centre of everything it does, enabling them to m their needs and realize their full potential. That can achieved only in a world of effective, accountab States which use sovereignty as a means to ensure t security of their peoples and to uphold, not viola their rights.

Fourthly, all the actors of the international syste must work together in pursuit of common goals. T United Nations should concentrate on those are where it has comparative advantage. Where others ha greater expertise and resources, it must seek to ensu that they apply them to the common needs of humani In other words, it must reach out to the widest possib range of partners.

Finally, what the United Nations does, it must well. We must continue improving our ability to gi our Members the service they expect, and to fulfil t priorities that Members have identified.

Let me now mention four burning issues on which our performance will be decisive.

First is the eradication of extreme poverty. In the Millennium Declaration, heads of State and Government resolved to halve, by 2015, the proportion of the world's population whose income is less than $1 a day, who suffer from hunger and who are unable to reach or to afford safe drinking water. Achieving this objective is a shared responsibility. Much must be done by the developing countries. But, to reach the point where they can really benefit from market opportunities, they need generous help from the developed countries. I will do my utmost to ensure that this fundamental issue is addressed.

Secondly, I shall intensify my commitment to the struggle against HIV/AIDS — the spread of which our heads of State and Government pledged to halt, and begin to reverse, by 2015. To have any hope of redeeming that pledge, we must all make it a genuine priority for years to come.

Thirdly, I shall maintain and strengthen the focus of our work on preventing deadly conflict. We must not wait passively for crises to erupt, but tackle the root causes of political violence.

We need systems of governance that promote free expression and social justice, while protecting civil liberties and minority rights. We must attack the gross inequality of opportunity, which so deeply divides people in different parts of the world — and sometimes different parts of a single country.

Fourthly, I take very seriously the pledge made in the Millennium Declaration to spare

> "our children and grandchildren ... from the threat of living on a planet irredeemably spoilt by human activities, and whose resources would no longer be sufficient for their needs." (*resolution 55/2, para. 21*)

We must put the issue of sustainability where it belongs, in the centre of the policymaking process.

The common thread connecting all these issues is the need to respect fundamental human rights; and Africa is the region where all of them present the greatest challenge. I am determined to integrate human rights even more fully into every aspect of our work. And, taking my cue from the Millennium Declaration, I intend to ensure that the United Nations fully supports the priorities established by the African leaders in the New Partnership for African Development.

Inevitably, we shall be dealing with all these issues over the next five years, day in and day out. But there are two events next year that I want especially to bring to the Assembly's attention: the Conference on Financing for Development in March, and the World Summit on Sustainable Development in September.

Those meetings, if properly prepared and managed, can mark a real turning point in our struggle to eradicate poverty and achieve genuinely sustainable development. I shall do everything in my power to ensure their success. Let me entreat all of you to do the same.

Now let me turn to the last of my fundamental principles: the principle that what this Organization does, it must do well.

During my first term I have worked with Members to improve the efficiency and coordination of the Secretariat, and to bring greater coherence to the United Nations family.

Have we achieved something? Yes, we have. Our Organization is better and more effective than it was five years ago. Its financial situation has at last improved — thanks to full payment of dues by many Member States, and significant arrearage payments from a few. In future, let us keep it on a firm financial footing.

But have we yet succeeded in giving the world's peoples the effective instrument they need? No, we have not. We need to sit together and think afresh about the way we work, and whether our system is adequate for its tasks.

For instance, are we really devoting our resources and energies to the priorities Members have given us? How can the contributions of civil society — including the private sector — be better organized? How can the United Nations function more effectively as a single entity, in each country where it works? And how can we ensure not only that we attract the best possible staff, but that staff at all levels are encouraged to think and act creatively?

This may seem a prosaic note to end on. But the world's people will judge us by our ability to perform specific tasks: not by the resounding speeches we make, or the number of decisions we reach, but by the

quality of those decisions, and of the service we provide.

For the sake of all those whom we hope to save — whether from terrorism, from war, from poverty, from disease or from environmental degradation — let us resolve that only the best is good enough. And let us equip ourselves so that, in future, the best is what we give.

The President: I thank the Secretary-General for his statement.

Before we hear the next speaker, I should once again to like to appeal to Member States to limit their statements to 15 minutes so that all the speakers inscribed for each meeting of the seven-day period of the general debate can be accommodated at that meeting.

Address by Mr. Fernando Henrique Cardoso, President of the Federative Republic of Brazil

The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Federative Republic of Brazil.

Mr. Fernando Henrique Cardoso, President of the Federative Republic of Brazil, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. Fernando Henrique Cardoso, President of the Federative Republic of Brazil, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President Cardoso *(spoke in Portuguese; English text provided by the delegation)*: I greet you, Mr. President, and pay tribute to the Republic of Korea, which offers the world an example of dedication to the cause of peace and development.

I reaffirm my admiration for Secretary-General Kofi Annan, who, together with the United Nations, was rightfully honoured with the Nobel Peace Prize. More than ever, we need his clear vision and courage in seeking to build a peaceful and democratic international order that is based on solidarity. Only fanatics fail to acknowledge the great mission undertaken by the United Nations and by Kofi Annan.

In a tradition that extends back to the beginnings of this Organization, the month of September in New York is dedicated to a celebration of dialogue: the opening of the general debate of this General Assembly. It was not so this year. In New York as well as in Washington, the month of September was marked by the very denial of this dialogue and understanding between peoples: the senseless violence resulting from an odious and treacherous attack against the United States of America and against all peace- and freedom-loving peoples.

It was an infamous act of aggression against a city that, perhaps more than any other, is a symbol of cosmopolitanism; a city that has welcomed immigrants from all parts, such as the Dutch Jews of Portuguese ancestry who, in the seventeenth century, left Brazil for what was then New Amsterdam.

New York has grown, prospered and reached maturity guided by pluralistic values. It became great, and was admired, not only because of its Jewish and Anglo-Saxon heritage, but also because of its Arab, Latin, African, Caribbean and Asian presence. The attacks of 11 September 2001 were an act of aggression against all of those traditions — an act of aggression against humanity.

As the first head of State to speak in the general debate at this session of the General Assembly, I wish to be very clear. As I had occasion to say on the very morning of those horrendous attacks, and as I have said during my conversations with President George W. Bush, Brazil extends its full solidarity and support to the people of the United States in its response to terrorism.

To our understanding, the American hemisphere as a whole was attacked. That is why we suggested convening the consultative organ of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance. Terrorism negates all that the United Nations stands for. It destroys the very principles of civilized behaviour. It fosters fear, and threatens the security and peace of all countries.

The victims of any act of terrorism will not be forgotten; nor will the perpetrators of such acts go unpunished, whether they are individuals, groups or the States that give them support. The march of folly will be vigorously resisted by the solid alliance of all free peoples.

The Charter of the United Nations acknowledges the right of Member States to act in self-defence. That is not in doubt. But let us keep in mind that the struggle against terrorism cannot rely exclusively on the

effectiveness of self-defence measures or on the use of military force by individual countries.

In 1945, the United Nations committed itself to the task of laying the foundations for peace and the protection of future generations against the scourge of war. War always takes a heavy human toll — a cost in lives cut short and lives overtaken by fear and flight. That underscores the responsibility of terrorists for what is happening today. Brazil hopes that, notwithstanding these circumstances, humanitarian assistance efforts in Afghanistan will not be frustrated. Furthermore, we will, to the best of our abilities, welcome refugees wishing to settle in our country.

Certain things may be obvious, but they warrant repeating. As Secretary-General Kofi Annan said, the struggle against terrorism is not, and must never become, a clash between civilizations, much less between religions. Not one of the civilizations that have enriched and humanized our planet has not known, within its own historical experience, episodes of violence and terror.

Around the world, problems related to crime, drug abuse, drug-trafficking and money-laundering are evils related to terrorism that must be eradicated. From this rostrum, I would like to call for a worldwide public awareness campaign to make drug users in all countries realize that they are helping — even if inadvertently — to finance terrorism.

If we are to stem the flow of resources to the terrorist networks spreading death and destruction, it is crucial that drug use in our societies be drastically curtailed. Furthermore, we must not allow differences in national tax regimes in various countries to be used as an instrument to foster capital flight, to the detriment of economic development, or to help finance organized crime, including terrorist actions. If the existence of tax havens is inseparable from these problems, then tax havens should not exist. We must put an end to such safe harbours for corruption and terror, with regard to which some Governments have, to date, been complacent.

It is only natural that, since 11 September, issues of international security should have been given high priority. Yet terrorism must not be allowed to stifle the debate on cooperation and other issues of global interest. The road to the future requires the forces of globalization to be harnessed in the pursuit of lasting peace — a peace sustained not by fear, but rather by the willing acceptance by all countries of a just international order.

On this theme, I have sought to mobilize numerous world leaders. Brazil wishes to do its part to ensure that the world does not squander the opportunities that are contained in the present crisis. Let us focus on our fundamental imperative of promoting development. The process of globalization is tainted by an undeniable sense of unease. I am not referring to the ideological disquiet of those who oppose globalization on principle or who reject the very notion of universal values which inspire freedom and the respect for human rights. Rather, I have in mind the fact that globalization has not lived up to its promises. There is a governance deficit in the international sphere, and it results from a democratic deficit. Globalization will be sustainable only if enriched by a sense of justice. Our aim should be "globalization in solidarity", rather than the asymmetrical globalization of today.

In the field of trade, it is high time that multilateral negotiations were translated into greater access for goods from developing countries to the more prosperous markets. The ministers meeting in Doha have a heavy responsibility: to ensure that the new round of multilateral trade negotiations is a development round. To this end, it is crucial for priority to be given to those issues most conducive to the dismantling of protectionist practices and barriers in developed countries.

Brazil has taken the lead in negotiations to ensure greater market access and better humanitarian conditions in the fight against disease. We will seek to strike a balance between the requirements of patent rights and the imperative of providing care to those most in need. We favour market practices and the protection of intellectual property, but not at the cost of human lives. This is a point that must be carefully defined: life must prevail over material interests.

The Bretton Woods institutions must be revamped if they are to respond to the challenges of the twenty-first century. The International Monetary Fund must be allotted greater resources so as to allow it to function as a lender of last resort. The World Bank and regional banks must be given a more active part in fostering economic growth and development.

The volatility of international capital flows must be contained and the financial system made more

predictable and less crisis-prone, as proposed by the G-20.

Similarly, although measures such as the Tobin tax present practical difficulties, it should be possible to look into better and less compulsory alternatives. I submit that these issues should be given special attention at the United Nations International Conference on Financing for Development, to be held next year in Monterrey.

We must also envisage practical forms of cooperation to alleviate the tragedy of AIDS, above all in Africa. How long will the world remain indifferent to the plight of those who might yet be saved from disease, deprivation and exclusion?

The twentieth century came to an end amid a growing sense of global citizenship and universally shared values. Brazil is determined to forge ahead in this direction.

The International Criminal Court will be a historic victory for the cause of human rights. The protection of the environment and sustainable development are equally pressing challenges of our time. The process of climate change has been scientifically ascertained as a fact, but it is not unstoppable. What the future holds depends on what we do today, in particular as concerns the Kyoto Protocol.

(*spoke in English*)

I have just been informed of the successful outcome of the Marrakesh meeting. Brazil warmly welcomes this development, which is a fundamental step towards controlling, and eventually reversing, the warming of the atmosphere. I will submit to the Congress a proposal for the prompt ratification of the Kyoto Protocol.

(*spoke in Portuguese*)

Recent events in this city and elsewhere have clearly demonstrated the grave threat posed by weapons of mass destruction. No matter the nature of the menace — be it bacteriological, such as anthrax; chemical; or nuclear — there is no alternative to disarmament and non-proliferation.

It is an ethical imperative that science and technology must not be turned into a weapon in the hands of the irresponsible. This requires the active and legitimate involvement of the United Nations in the control, destruction and eradication of these arsenals.

Just as it supported the creation of the State of Israel, Brazil today calls for concrete measures towards the setting up of a Palestinian state that is democratic, united and economically viable.

The right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and respect for the existence of Israel as a sovereign, free and secure State are essential if the Middle East is to rebuild its future in peace.

This is a moral debt owed by the United Nations. It is a task that must not be postponed.

It is equally urgent that a lasting solution be found to the conflict in Angola, which deserves the opportunity to get back on the road to development. This is the same future that Brazil wishes for East Timor, which we hope will soon take its rightful place in the Assembly as a sovereign state.

A strong and flexible United Nations is required if the world is to respond to increasingly complex problems. The United Nations will only be strengthened if the General Assembly becomes more active and more respected, and if the Security Council becomes more representative. Its composition should no longer be a reflection of arrangements among the victors of a conflict that took place over 50 years ago, and for whose triumph Brazilian soldiers gave their blood in the glorious campaigns in Italy.

Brazil joins those who appeal for more democracy in international relations in calling for the enlargement of the Security Council. Common sense requires the inclusion, in the category of permanent members, of those developing countries with the necessary credentials to exercise the responsibilities that today's world imposes upon them.

By the same token, Brazil believes that an enlargement of the G-7/G-8 is called for in view of the transformations the world is presently undergoing. It is no longer admissible to restrict to such a limited group of countries the discussion of issues pertaining to globalization and its inevitable impact on the political and economic life of emerging countries.

An international order that is more just and based on solidarity will come about only through a concerted effort on the part of the community of nations. This is

too precious a goal to be left to the vagaries of market forces or to the whims of power politics.

We do not aspire to a world government, but we cannot sidestep the obligation to ensure that international relations are not left rudderless, but reflect the legitimate aspirations of the majority. The nefarious shadow of terrorism points to what can be expected if we do not enhance mutual understanding among peoples.

This Organization was created under the sign of dialogue — a dialogue among sovereign States that are free nations, whose peoples actively participate in national decision-making.

With their help, we can ensure that the twenty-first century will not be a time of fear, but rather of the flourishing of a freer humanity, at peace with itself, and rationally oriented towards the building of an international order that is acceptable to all peoples and that provides a guiding framework for States at the global level.

This is the challenge of the twenty-first century. Let us face it inspired by the grand vision of the founding fathers of this Organization, who dreamed of a pluralistic world, founded on peace, solidarity, tolerance and reason, which is the ultimate source of the rule of law.

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Federative Republic of Brazil for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Fernando Henrique Cardoso, President of the Federative Republic of Brazil, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

Address by Mr. George W. Bush, President of the United States of America

The President: The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the United States of America.

Mr. George W. Bush, President of the United States of America, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. George W. Bush, President of the United States of America, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President Bush: We meet in a Hall devoted to peace; in a city scarred by violence; in a nation awakened to danger; in a world uniting for a long struggle. Every civilized nation here today is resolved to keep the most basic commitment of civilization. We will defend ourselves and our future against terror and lawless violence.

The United Nations was founded in this cause. In the Second World War, we learned that there is no isolation from evil. We affirmed that some crimes are so terrible they offend humanity itself, and we resolved that the aggressions and ambitions of the wicked must be opposed early, decisively and collectively, before they threaten us all.

That evil has returned, and that cause is renewed. A few miles from here, many thousands still lie in a tomb of rubble. Tomorrow, the Secretary-General, the President of the General Assembly and I will visit that site, where the names of every nation and region that lost citizens will be read aloud. If we were to read out the names of every person who died, it would take more than three hours.

Those names include a citizen of the Gambia, whose wife spent their fourth wedding anniversary, 12 September, searching in vain for her husband. Those names include a man who supported his wife in Mexico, sending home money every week. Those names include a young Pakistani who prayed towards Mecca five times a day and who died that day trying to save others.

The suffering of 11 September was inflicted on people of many faiths and many nations. All of the victims, including Muslims, were killed with equal indifference and equal satisfaction by the terrorist leaders.

The terrorists are violating the tenets of every religion, including the one they invoke. Last week, the sheikh of Al-Azhar University, the world's oldest Islamic institution of higher learning, declared that terrorism is a disease and that Islam prohibits killing innocent civilians. The terrorists call their cause holy, yet they fund it with drug dealing. They encourage murder and suicide in the name of a great faith that forbids both. They dare to ask God's blessing as they set out to kill innocent men, women and children. But

the God of Isaac and Ishmael would never answer such a prayer. And a murderer is not a martyr; he is just a murderer.

Time is passing. Yet for the United States of America, there will be no forgetting 11 September. We will remember every rescuer who died in honour. We will remember every family that lives in grief. We will remember the fire and ash, the last phone calls, the funerals of the children.

And the people of my country will remember those who have plotted against us. We are learning their names. We are coming to know their faces. There is no corner of the Earth distant or dark enough to protect them. However long it takes, their hour of justice will come.

Every nation has a stake in this cause. As we meet, the terrorists are planning more murder — perhaps in my country, or perhaps, fellow members, in yours. They kill because they aspire to dominate. They seek to overthrow Governments and to destabilize entire regions. Last week, anticipating this meeting of the General Assembly, they denounced the United Nations; they called our Secretary-General a criminal and they condemned all Arab nations here as traitors to Islam. Few countries meet their exacting standards of brutality and oppression. Every other country is a potential target.

And all the world faces the most horrifying prospect of all: those same terrorists are searching for weapons of mass destruction, the tools to turn their hatred into holocaust. They can be expected to use chemical, biological and nuclear weapons the moment they are capable of doing so. No hint of conscience would prevent it. That threat cannot be ignored; that threat cannot be appeased. Civilization itself — the civilization we share — is threatened. History will record our response and will judge or justify every nation in this Hall.

The civilized world is now responding. We act to defend ourselves and to deliver our children from a future of fear. We choose the dignity of life over a culture of death. We choose lawful change and civil disagreement over coercion, subversion and chaos. Those commitments — hope and order, law and life — unite people across cultures and continents. Upon those commitments depend all peace and progress. For those commitments, we are determined to fight.

The United Nations has risen to this responsibility: on 12 September, these buildings opened for emergency meetings of the General Assembly and of the Security Council. Before the sun had set, these attacks on the world stood condemned by the world, and I want to thank you, fellow members, for that strong and principled stand.

I also thank the Arab and Islamic countries that have condemned terrorist murder. Many of you have seen the destruction of terror in your own lands. The terrorists are increasingly isolated by their own hatred and extremism. They cannot hide behind Islam. The authors of mass murder and their allies have no place in any culture, and no home in any faith.

The conspiracies of terror are being answered by an expanding global coalition. Not every nation will be part of every action against the enemy. But every nation in our coalition has duties. Those duties can be demanding, as we in America are learning. We have already made adjustments in our laws and in our daily lives. We are taking new measures to investigate terror and to protect against threats.

The leaders of all nations must now carefully consider their responsibilities and their future. Terrorist groups such as Al Qaeda depend upon the aid or indifference of Governments. They need the support of a financial infrastructure and safe havens to train and plan and hide.

Some nations want to play their part in the fight against terror but tell us they lack the means to enforce their laws and control their borders. We stand ready to help.

Some Governments still turn a blind eye to the terrorists, hoping the threat will pass them by. They are mistaken.

And some Governments, while pledging to uphold the principles of the United Nations, have cast their lot with the terrorists. They support them and harbour them. And they will find that their welcomed guests are parasites that will weaken them and eventually consume them. For every regime that sponsors terror there is a price to be paid, and it will be paid. The allies of terror are equally guilty of murder and equally accountable to justice.

The Taliban are now learning that lesson. That regime and the terrorists who support it are now virtually indistinguishable. Together they promote

terror abroad and impose a reign of terror on the Afghan people. Women are executed in Kabul's soccer stadium. They can be beaten for wearing socks that are too thin. Men are jailed for missing prayer meetings.

The United States, supported by many nations, is bringing justice to the terrorists in Afghanistan. We are making progress against military targets — and that is our objective. Unlike the enemy, we seek to minimize, not maximize, the loss of innocent life. I am proud of the honourable conduct of the American military. And my country grieves for all the suffering the Taliban have brought upon Afghanistan, including the terrible burden of war.

The Afghan people do not deserve their present rulers. Years of Taliban misrule have brought nothing but misery and starvation. Even before this current crisis, 4 million Afghans depended on food from the United States and other nations, and millions of Afghans were refugees from Taliban oppression.

I make this promise to all the victims of that regime: the Taliban's days of harbouring terrorists, and dealing in heroin, and brutalizing women are drawing to a close. When that regime is gone, the people of Afghanistan will say, with the rest of the world, good riddance.

I can promise, too, that America will join the world in helping the people of Afghanistan rebuild their country.

Many nations, including mine, are sending food and medicine to help Afghans through the winter. America has airdropped over 1.3 million packages of rations in Afghanistan. Just this week, we airlifted 20,000 blankets and over 200 tons of provisions into the region. We continue to provide humanitarian aid, even while the Taliban try to steal the food we send.

More help, eventually, will be needed. The United States will work closely with the United Nations and development banks to reconstruct Afghanistan after hostilities there have ceased and the Taliban are no longer in control. And the United States will work with the United Nations to support a post-Taliban Government that represents all of the Afghan people.

In this war of terror, each of us must answer for what we have done or what we have left undone. After tragedy, there is a time for sympathy and condolence. My country has been very grateful for both.

The memorials and vigils around the world will not be forgotten. But the time for sympathy has now passed. The time for action has now arrived.

The most basic obligations in this new conflict have already been defined by the United Nations. On 28 September, the Security Council adopted resolution 1373 (2001). Its requirements are clear: every United Nations Member has a responsibility to crack down on terrorist financing. We must pass all necessary laws in our own countries to allow the confiscation of terrorist assets. We must apply those laws to every financial institution in every nation.

We have a responsibility to share intelligence and coordinate the efforts of law enforcement. If you know something, tell us. If we know something, we will tell you. And when we find the terrorists, we must work together to bring them to justice.

We have a responsibility to deny any sanctuary, safe haven, or transit to terrorists. Every known terrorist camp must be shut down, its operators apprehended, and evidence of their arrest presented to the United Nations.

We have a responsibility to deny weapons to terrorists — and to actively prevent private citizens from providing them.

These obligations are urgent, and they are binding on every nation with a place in this Hall. Many Governments are taking these obligations seriously, and my country appreciates it. Yet even beyond resolution 1373 (2001), more is required — and more is expected — of our coalition against terror. We are asking for a comprehensive commitment to this fight.

We must unite in opposing all terrorists, not just some of them. In this world, there are good causes and bad causes, and we may disagree on where that line is drawn. Yet there is no such thing as a good terrorist. No national aspiration, no remembered wrong, can ever justify the deliberate murder of the innocent. Any Government that rejects this principle — trying to pick and choose its terrorist friends — will know the consequences.

We must speak the truth about terror. Let us never tolerate outrageous conspiracy theories concerning the attacks of 11 September — malicious lies that attempt to shift the blame away from the terrorists themselves, away from the guilty. To inflame ethnic hatred is to advance the cause of terror.

The war against terror must not serve as an excuse to persecute ethnic and religious minorities in any country. Innocent people must be allowed to live their own lives, by their own customs, under their own religion. And every nation must have avenues for the peaceful expression of opinion and dissent. When these avenues are closed, the temptation to speak through violence grows.

We must press on with our agenda for peace and prosperity in every land. My country is pledged to encouraging development and expanding trade. My country is pledged to investing in education and combating AIDS and other infectious diseases around the world. Following 11 September, these pledges are even more important. In our struggle against hateful groups that exploit poverty and despair, we must offer an alternative of opportunity and hope.

The American Government also stands by its commitment to a just peace in the Middle East. We are working towards a day when two States — Israel and Palestine — live peacefully together, within secure and recognized borders, as called for by the Security Council resolutions. We will do all in our power to bring both parties back into negotiations. But peace will come only when all have sworn off — forever — incitement, violence and terror.

Finally, this struggle is a defining moment for the United Nations itself — and the world needs its principled leadership. It undermines the credibility of this great institution, for example, when the Commission on Human Rights offers seats to some of the world's most persistent violators of human rights. The United Nations depends, above all, on its moral authority — and that authority must be preserved.

The steps I have described will not be easy. For all nations, they will require effort. For some nations, they will require great courage. Yet the cost of inaction is far greater. The only alternative to victory is a nightmare world where every city is a potential killing field.

As I told the American people, freedom and fear are at war. We face enemies that hate not our policies, but our existence — the tolerance of openness and the creative culture that define us. But the outcome of this conflict is certain.

There is a current in history, and it runs towards freedom. Our enemies resent it and dismiss it, but the dreams of mankind are defined by liberty — the natural right to create, and build, and worship, and live in dignity. When men and women are released from oppression and isolation, they find fulfilment and hope, and they leave poverty by the millions. These aspirations are lifting up the peoples of Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas, and they can lift up all of the Islamic world. We stand for the permanent hopes of humanity, and those hopes will not be denied.

We are confident, too, that history has an author, who fills time and eternity with his purpose. We know that evil is real, but good will prevail against it. This is the teaching of many faiths. And in that assurance, we gain strength for a long journey.

It is our task — the task of this generation — to provide the response to aggression and terror. We have no other choice, because there is no other peace. We did not ask for this mission, yet there is honour in history's call. We have a chance to write the story of our times — a story of courage defeating cruelty, and light overcoming darkness. This calling is worthy of any life, and worthy of every nation. So let us go forward — confident, determined and unafraid.

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the United States of America for the statement he has just made.

Mr. George W. Bush, President of the United States of America, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

Address by Mr. Thabo Mbeki, President of the Republic of South Africa

The President: The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Republic of South Africa.

Mr. Thabo Mbeki, President of the Republic of South Africa, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. Thabo Mbeki, President of the Republic of South Africa, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President Mbeki: Please accept my congratulations, Mr. President, on your assumption of the stewardship of this important Assembly.

We also wish to congratulate your predecessor, Mr. Harri Holkeri, for the skilful manner in which he guided the work of the Millennium Assembly of the United Nations.

Allow me also to salute the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, on being elected to a second term and, together with the United Nations, being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 2001. This is because of the tireless work of both the Secretary-General and the United Nations to realize the ideal that we all cherish: a world in which all people can live in peace, security, freedom, equality and justice.

As has already been noted and as we all know, this general debate has begun later than usual. The reason for this is that two months ago, the forces of terror struck at this city, New York — the Headquarters of this Organization — and Washington, D.C., the capital city of the United States of America.

It is proper that we take advantage of this occasion once more to convey our condolences and deepest sympathy to the people and the Government of the United States for the immense loss of life and property imposed on them through a callous act of murder. We extend the same sympathy to all other peoples who lost citizens as a result of the colossal outrage of 11 September. We speak here about the terrible tragedy of 11 September on behalf of our Government and the people of South Africa. We speak also on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement and the Commonwealth.

There can be no doubt but that the peoples of the world have to unite in action to defeat terrorism. There can be no hesitation among any of us in the resolve to work together to ensure that those responsible for the heinous actions of September 11 are brought to justice.

This is so not only because many nations lost their citizens on that terrible day, important as that is. It is so, because terrorism has demonstrated that it has no respect for borders. It has shown in a very graphic, tragic and painful manner, as it did also in Kenya and Tanzania, that our very humanity renders all of us, without exception, potential targets of cold-blooded murder.

Where we might have used the concept of a global village loosely in the past, on 11 September terrorism taught us the abiding lesson that we do indeed belong to a global village. None within this village will be safe unless all the villagers act together to secure and guarantee that safety. All must act to promote the safety and security of one and all, on the basis of a shared responsibility born of a shared danger.

Accordingly, we have no choice but to get together in the village square to agree on the threat that confronts us. Together, in that village square, we have to determine what we do about this commonly defined threat. This is the ineluctable conclusion we must draw from the terrorist attacks of 11 September.

To guarantee world peace and security in the light of the threat posed by terrorism requires that this Organization, the United Nations, must discharge its responsibility to unite the peoples of the world to adopt an international convention against terrorism.

Necessarily, all of us must experience a shared sense of ownership of this convention, precisely because it would not be merely a statement of principles, but a set of injunctions and prescriptions that will be binding on all of us as States. Thus should each one of us be ready to integrate our respective sovereignties within a global human sovereignty, defined and governed by all of us, with none treated as superior or inferior.

The challenge to unite the peoples of the world to fight the common threat of terrorism brings to the fore the need to speed up the transformation of the United Nations so that it is able to respond to the global challenges we face together, in an equitable manner. This means that it needs to be efficient, effective and responsive to the needs of humanity as a whole.

11 September emphasized the point that, even as the democratic system of government is being consolidated throughout the world, even as we all work to sustain the possibility of a serious and meaningful global dialogue, there are some who are prepared to resort to force in pursuit of their goals. Clearly, there must be a response. But what should that response be?

Immediately, it is correct that we must achieve global security cooperation so that the perpetrators of the 11 September acts of terrorism are apprehended and punished. Correctly, the Government of the United States has emphasized that all action that is carried out must be clearly targeted against the terrorists. It has stated that such actions, including military actions, should not degenerate into collective punishment against any people on any grounds whatsoever,

including those of religion, race or ethnicity. Accordingly, it is indeed necessary that humanitarian assistance be extended to the people of Afghanistan. We fully agree with that approach. The United States Government has also said that these actions should be of the shortest duration possible, consistent with the objective that must be achieved. Again, we agree with this without reservation.

The call has gone out that all Governments and countries should contribute whatever they can to ensure that the common efforts to find and punish the terrorists responsible for 11 September are met with their just results. We have responded positively to this call because it is timely, correct and just.

All these are important elements of what has to be done to respond to those who committed the mass murders of 11 September. But they also indicate the way forward as we consider the rules that should guide us as we confront the threat of terrorism over the longer term and beyond the critically important operations and activities focused on the events of 11 September. They put the matter firmly on our common agenda: We must also achieve global cooperation for the speedy resolution of conflict situations everywhere in the world.

In this regard, it is clear that the situation in the Middle East cries out for an urgent and lasting solution. In this context, we might recall the words of the Irish poet, William Butler Yeats, when he said "too long a sacrifice can make a stone of the heart". The sacrifice of the Palestinian people should not be allowed to drag on any longer. Whatever these long-suffering people might themselves think and feel, it is clear that there are some in the world who will justify their destructive rage by claiming to be front-line fighters for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

Beyond this, we must act together to determine the issues that drive people to resort to force and agree on what we should do to eliminate those issues. At the same time, we must make the point patently clear that such determination does not in any way constitute an attempt to justify terrorism. Together, we must take the firm position that no circumstances whatsoever can ever justify resort to terrorism.

The need to realize together the goal of determining the matters that make for peace once again underlines the need for properly representative international institutions to build the necessary global consensus. It would seem obvious that the fundamental source of conflict in the world today is the socio-economic deprivation of billions of people across the globe, coexisting side by side with islands of enormous wealth and prosperity within and among countries. This necessarily breeds a deep sense of injustice, social alienation and despair and a willingness to sacrifice their lives among those who feel they have nothing to lose and everything to gain, regardless of the form of action to which they resort.

As the Durban World Conference concluded, racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance remain a critical part of the practices that serve to alienate billions of people and contribute to mutual antagonisms among human beings. The international community should spare no effort to ensure that this affront to human dignity is totally eradicated.

Last year, we convened in this very Hall in the historic Millennium Summit. Solemnly, and with serious intent, we adopted the Millennium Declaration. The heavy and urgent obligation we now face is to implement the programme of action spelt out in that Declaration. This constitutes and must constitute the decisive front of struggle against terrorism.

Africa, for its part, has developed a New Partnership for Africa's Development, which is a product of the consciousness among the African people that they themselves hold the key to the continent's development, security and stability. Africans across the continent have arrived at the correct determination that human rights, democracy, peace, stability and justice are the fundamental building blocks for a prosperous continent. Concomitantly, African countries are taking measures, jointly and severally, to improve the conditions for much-needed investment, economic renewal and development. Naturally, the United Nations has a pivotal role to play in this regard.

As we meet here, members of the World Trade Organization are engaged in critical negotiations in Doha, Qatar, hopefully to agree to a new equitable trading relationship that is fair and just. It is imperative that there be a non-discriminatory and equitable trading system that promotes sustainable development.

Soon, ministers of health, the World Health Organization and others concerned will be finalizing the details relating to the global health fund to deal

with the major communicable diseases, including malaria, tuberculosis and AIDS.

The International Conference on Financing for Development, to be held next March in Mexico, will cover a range of pertinent issues, such as debt relief, official development assistance and foreign direct investment. As we all know, substantial capital flows into the developing countries are critical in the struggle to defeat poverty and underdevelopment.

All these constitute vital component parts of what must inform the outcome of the Johannesburg World Summit on Sustainable Development in September next year. We are confident that the Summit will reach positive conclusions that will include firm global, regional and national commitments to the elaboration, integration and implementation of economically efficient, socially responsible and environmentally sound development policies.

There is no doubt that our global village has the resources and capacity to meet the needs of all its citizens. What is needed is the collective will of the international community to act decisively to meet this challenge, inspired by a sense of human solidarity. Peace and security for all, freedom and democracy for all, prosperity for all and genuine equality in conditions of diversity must surely be the outcomes towards which the United Nations and all of us must strive. Our actions must affirm the seriousness of our intent.

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of South Africa for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Thabo Mbeki, President of the Republic of South Africa, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

Address by His Highness Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani, Emir of the State of Qatar

The President: The Assembly will now hear an address by Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani, Emir of the State of Qatar.

Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani, Emir of the State of Qatar, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Highness Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani, Emir of the State of Qatar, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

Emir Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani (*spoke in Arabic*): It is my pleasure to address the General Assembly today in my capacity as the Emir of the State of Qatar and as Chairman of the Ninth Summit of the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

It is our duty to make this important session of the General Assembly a session for rebuilding confidence and realizing the aspirations and expectations of our peoples for a world where peace and prosperity prevail.

I take this opportunity to extend to you, Sir, my congratulations on your election to the presidency of this session, and would like to extend my thanks to your predecessor, Mr. Harri Holkeri. I must also congratulate Mr. Kofi Annan on his re-election as United Nations Secretary-General and on receiving the Nobel Peace Prize along with the United Nations.

We are all aware of the critical and extraordinary circumstances in which this session is being held and of the political situation prevailing in the world in the wake of the events of 11 September. An analysis of these terrible events, which we condemn, prompts us to say that humanity has actually reached a tremendous turning point.

Personally, I believe that the way to offer the greatest peace and serenity to the souls of the victims of that criminal act, the sincerest consolation to their families and the most effective support to the friendly United States of America, where these events took place, is for the international community as a whole not only to confront what happened but also to act decisively to avoid the repetition of such acts.

What happened in New York and Washington is unprecedented and almost beyond our imagination. There may be some strategic planners who see the events as confirming their predictions, but for the rest of us they would have seemed like fiction only a short time ago. Sadly, the events were all too real, and we watched with amazement, horror and sympathy as we realized their full import for the future of humanity.

Dealing with the repercussions of these events should not be a matter of merely punishing those whose guilt in masterminding and carrying out these criminal acts is proved. Inflicting punishment, though imperative, will not, in my opinion, prevent the

repetition of similar or even more terrible acts in the future.

We face an extremely serious situation. We are seeing what could be described as a globalization of terrorism through the evil utilization of the revolution of technology and communications. Thus, we are all involved in an unconventional war for which we are not yet prepared.

As we know, terrorism is neither a temporary phenomenon nor confined to a certain continent, creed, culture or race; it is everywhere, concealed like time bombs in our midst.

We should therefore ask ourselves, what have we done as an international community about this situation? Have we actually faced up to it? What have we done to rebuild confidence among people? What have we done to contain the fear that is demoralizing our citizens? What are we going to do now to stop the economic recession and social anxiety that threaten us all? Furthermore, is this the world we promised at the Millennium Summit a year ago — a world that would be ruled by amity, peace and cooperation?

If anything, we have moved away from these ideals. We now live in a world where liberties are increasingly restricted, where democracy is in retreat and where caution and isolation are replacing freedom and openness.

The State of Qatar, along with all other Islamic countries, has condemned the terrorist acts that took place on 11 September. This stand was explicitly expressed at the emergency meeting of the Organization of the Islamic Conference Ministers for Foreign Affairs held in Doha last month. Our unanimous agreement condemning what happened emanated from the values of our true Islamic religion and its sublime sharia, which is based on tolerance, justice, equality and cooperation among people and forbids the unjust taking of human life. It urges us to rebuild and to propagate peace and tranquillity.

In this connection, I would like to stress that what deepens our conviction and strengthens our stance towards these eternal cultural values is our realization and understanding of the geopolitical importance of the Muslim nation, with its diverse peoples, which makes it a strategic partner in the process of building balanced international relations.

In fact, this is what makes Muslims deplore those who deliberately and desperately try to link Islam with terrorism. Our peoples condemn and reject terrorism as well as all attempts to distort the image of Islam, which is the last of divine faiths, and those who abuse and terrorize its adherents and jeopardize their lives, dignity and interests.

Therefore, it is now necessary to stand resolutely against all forms of harassment against Arab and Muslim communities in any country that take place under the pretext of combating terrorism and the pursuit of terrorists.

We need to have a clear definition of terrorism and distinguish between this phenomenon, which is based on criminal practices and attacks against innocent civilians, and legitimate struggles to throw off the yoke of colonialism and subjugation.

Terrorism has taken root not only because of our inability to tackle the sources of tension in the world's hot spots, but also because we have tolerated for too long those who pursue policies of repression and deny their citizens fundamental liberties and basic human rights. The seeds of terrorism lie in places where pluralism is rejected, corruption is allowed to spread, authority is exploited and political opponents are hounded in the guise of protecting the security of homelands and people. It is neither just nor logical for anyone to claim to improve internal conditions by resorting to oppressive practices or to suspending democracy.

In this context, we feel it is high time to put an urgent end to the tragedy of the Palestinian people at the hands of the Israeli occupation forces. We call on the international community to shoulder its responsibilities in providing the necessary international protection for these people against the unjustified and unacceptable daily aggression to which they are exposed.

That is indispensable if we want to avert an imminent human catastrophe, which would lead only to a further cycle of violence, terrorism and destruction in our region. We urge everyone to support their political leaders when they call for restraint so as to avoid the loss of innocent civilian life and so that the right climate can be created for a just peace to prevail in that troubled region.

In this context, we should like to put on record our support for the positive stance of the President of the United States, George W. Bush, and his Administration, with regard to the establishment of a Palestinian State. We would also like to pay tribute in this respect to friendly European countries and other international bodies concerned with the settlement of the crisis. The ultimate test will be whether they implement measures reflecting the positions that they have taken and move from making statements to taking action.

We must emphasize the need to address the human tragedy of the people of Afghanistan. We believe that it is our duty to provide all possible assistance to those people, most of whom are living under extremely difficult conditions — conditions that further exacerbate their suffering, which was already acute years before the crisis brought about by the events of 11 September.

We therefore appeal to the international community to provide assistance and aid to save the lives of millions of Afghans who are facing a bleak future. There is an urgent and immediate need for relief as the Afghan winter approaches. We urge the Taliban authorities to cooperate fully with relief organizations to ensure that essential food and medicines can reach all of their people. We urge the international community to designate a safe corridor for such supplies before winter sets in.

In addressing these urgent humanitarian concerns, we believe that it is essential to seek a long-term solution of the Afghan problem, as proposed by the Organization of the Islamic Conference. Such a solution would be based simply on maintaining the territorial integrity and Islamic identity of Afghanistan, and forming a government representing all factions of Afghan society, excluding none.

It is the responsibility of the international community to elaborate comprehensive programmes and plans to confront all forms of global challenges. In this respect, we are convinced of the necessity of reforming the United Nations so as to step up the effectiveness of its organs and agencies and to promote its efficiency. Equally, as States Members of the Organization, we are required to shoulder our political responsibilities and honour our financial and moral obligations towards the Organization. In this context, we support the idea of expanding the membership of the Security Council to make it more democratic and more representative of the international community in our contemporary world. We also support the idea of expanding the permanent membership of the Council in order to secure wider international representation. We also support restrictions on the use of the veto on the part of permanent members, regulating the ability to exercise that right within limits established by specific conditions and provisions to be agreed upon by the international Organization.

From this rostrum, I would like to say that the time has come for us to take steps immediately to activate the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In implementing it, international organizations should not confine their role to merely recording the violations of its principles. They should move towards a comprehensive, democratic dialogue that consolidates its provisions guaranteeing people's right to participate in governance, expands its scope and makes it more responsive, not just for today's requirements, but also for those of the future.

The State of Qatar is convinced of the importance of — indeed, the necessity for — such a dialogue. As we would be one of those to benefit from the outcome of such a dialogue, we are willing to contribute in many different ways in order to make this a year for democratic dialogue that would truly reflect the principles of the United Nations Charter at the beginning of this millennium.

If approached with conviction and resolve, this endeavour will lead to the interaction of different views, and could help to unify our efforts against current threats and future challenges and dangers. In this way, our cultural distinctions could be turned into a source of strength and wealth, our social disparities could become an element of diversity and contribution, and our political and geographical borders could become points of cooperation, convergence and communication among our peoples and nations. That would provide an opportunity for all of us to live in a world whose inhabitants take pride in their humanity and look forward to a future of prosperity and well-being for their children and grandchildren without any discrimination or distinction.

May the peace and blessings of God be upon the Assembly.

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Emir of the State of Qatar for the statement he has just made.

Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani, Emir of the State of Qatar, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

Address by Mr. Vicente Fox, President of the United Mexican States

The President: The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the United Mexican States.

Mr. Vicente Fox, President of the United Mexican States, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations Mr. Vicente Fox, President of the United Mexican States, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President Fox (*spoke in Spanish*): Allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your election as President of the General Assembly. I should also like to extend my congratulations to all the other members of the Bureau. I am sure that your prestige and acknowledged diplomatic skills will contribute to the successful work of the General Assembly at this session.

I should also like to extend sincere congratulations to this Organization and to the Secretary-General, Kofi Annan. Mexico welcomes the fact that they were awarded this year's Nobel Peace Prize. That is a well-deserved recognition of the dedication and clarity of vision that have marked the work of the Secretary-General. It fills us with hope regarding the efforts that this Organization will have to make in order to meet the international challenges of the twenty-first century.

I am addressing the General Assembly on behalf of the women and men of my country, Mexico — a country that is in the process of a profound transformation, determined to strengthen democracy and development, as well as to take on greater responsibilities in shaping the new international system with a view to fostering the prosperity, peace and security that every inhabitant of the world deserves.

Mexican society is firmly committed to making Mexico a country that contributes positively to the worthiest objectives of human well-being. Aware that there is a diversity of views on ways to achieve this end, Mexico favours dialogue and agreement as benchmarks to guide our endeavours. For Mexico the United Nations is the best example of a global forum where the voices of all men and women can merge into a veritable concert of nations.

This is a Mexico that today renews its full commitment to the United Nations — which not only demands full respect for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and international law, but that is also committed to the development of new, universally observed rules and standards for the regulation of international relations.

This is a Mexico that acts firmly in the defence and protection of human rights and of democracy, at all times and in all places, beginning, of course, within our own territory, promoting full respect for fundamental freedoms on the basis of tolerance, plurality and equity. That is why my Government has initiated formal talks with the various political parties in Mexico in order to create favourable conditions for the promotion of a constitutional reform that will allow Mexico to ratify the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, which our country signed last year.

My Government has also started a necessary updating of Mexico's international obligations in the field of human rights and international humanitarian law. I have submitted for consideration by the Mexican Senate the ratification, accession or acceptance of 11 other legal instruments in areas such as the forcible disappearance of persons, the rights of the child, the elimination of discrimination against women and the protection of victims of international armed conflicts.

This new commitment on the part of Mexico to the defence of human rights was also reflected in the recent release, for humanitarian reasons, of Rodolfo Montiel and Teodoro Cabrera, two environmental activists in Mexico. This effort in the field of human rights was also reflected in the broad disclosure of State security agencies files, which will contribute to increasing transparency regarding both present and past events, thus making it a central element of my administration. Mexico is taking concrete steps to demonstrate that its commitment to the norms of the international community is profound, sincere and resolute.

The establishment of the United Nations more than 50 years ago was the triumph of hope and freedom over the suffering inflicted by the two world wars on humanity. Today, however, threats to peace and security do not emerge only from acts of aggression among States. The new threats also arise from internal conflicts that have cross-border effects, such as the massive movement of displaced peoples, humanitarian tragedies, grave violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the exacerbation of nationalism and religious fanaticism. These threats also derive from worldwide phenomena such as transnational organized crime, environmental degradation, AIDS, and, of course, terrorism in all its forms and manifestations.

There is no doubt that the magnitude and the cruelty of the 11 September attacks have underscored the vulnerability of States and the fragility of world peace. It is a matter of concern to us that terrorist groups can gain access to weapons of mass destruction and that they also benefit from the traffic in arms, organized crime, money laundering and drug trafficking.

International terrorism not only flouts international law, but it also endangers the stability of the community of nations and economic development processes, increasing unemployment and preventing headway from being made in the alleviation of poverty. For this reason, Mexico categorically rejects any argument that seeks to justify terrorist activities. Nothing — not the justness of a cause, the inequality of forces with respect to an antagonist, poverty, or any other grounds — can justify resorting to violence for political ends.

Mexico reiterates its commitment to the fight against terrorism and its decision to fully implement resolution 1373 (2001) of the Security Council, which establishes a series of measures for fighting international terrorism and cutting its ties to practices such as money laundering and organized crime.

We are firmly committed to the fight against new threats to international peace and security. We believe that the international community should meet these challenges on the basis of three principles: first, the supremacy of the United Nations; secondly, the strengthening of international cooperation in resolving global problems; and thirdly, the shaping of an international order based on universally observed rules and standards that meet the needs and aspirations of the community of nations.

The Government of Mexico is determined to assist in this effort. For that reason, Mexico feels deeply honoured to have been elected, after a 20-year absence, as a non-permanent member of the Security Council for 2002-2003. It wishes to express its deep commitment in this respect. We thank the international community for its support and express our determination to work actively and responsibly in favour of the maintenance of international peace and security. Our intention is that Mexico's participation in the Security Council will amplify the voices of countries that are not usually heard on the international scene.

In the search for lasting solutions to the new threats now facing the international system, we must not fail to address situations that have contributed to their emergence, such as the lack of economic development in many nations, the deepening of poverty and exclusion. The challenges of development not only remain with us, but have gradually increased with the growing economic and social inequalities.

Mexico therefore calls on the international community to give priority to the fight against poverty and social exclusion. My country reaffirms its interest in taking a lead in promoting the Agenda for Development, providing it with renewed impetus and a more effective approach, so that the United Nations and the multilateral institutions can fulfil the commitments contained in the Millennium Declaration.

It is because of the importance we attach to this issue that Mexico offered to host the International Conference on Financing for Development, to be held next year in Monterrey. I invite all heads of State or Government to contribute, through their active participation in the Conference, to strengthening the international community's efforts to promote world development that is more just and more equitable, thus creatively helping to improve the institutions responsible for development financing.

We face the complex task of integrating our societies, without exclusion, in the process of the joint creation and equitable distribution of the opportunities and benefits of globalization. We must ensure that all citizens become stakeholders in that process; to do that, we need an enabling international environment, including sufficient levels of public and private

funding, along with the consolidation of an inclusive international economic system that is conducive to more equitable human development.

It will be impossible to make the world more just if we permit the exclusion of the most vulnerable groups. That is why my Government has just proposed the establishment of a special committee to draft a broad, comprehensive international convention to promote and protect the rights and dignity of disabled persons. The convention's ultimate goal should be to put in place a binding universal legal instrument for the benefit of the disabled, guaranteeing the fundamental rights of millions of men, women and children worldwide. Mexico hopes that this important endeavour will enjoy the support of the States Members of the United Nations.

The history of relations among nations reflects successes, but also sadly missed opportunities. Today, our efforts to combat terrorism and to promote development — the two focuses of my statement today — may be the start of a new history of successes for the United Nations.

The brutal events of 11 September make it imperative that we, the international community, engage in multilateral negotiations to formulate new rules and standards to guarantee international peace and security. There is no doubt that the way in which our nations face the challenge of terrorism will have an impact on the principles and priorities of international relations in coming years.

As a country that is a bridge between regions and cultures, Mexico is determined to play an active and leading role in shaping an international system that can meet the challenges facing us today.

This is a defining moment. Our fundamental values and the vitality and viability of the United Nations are being put to the test. The community of nations must show that it can meet this extraordinary challenge. This can be a new founding stage in the history of the Organization, which will yield the mandates and competences that are indispensable in a world that is starkly different from that of 1945 but whose aspirations to peace, respect for human dignity, justice and freedom still remain those of the San Francisco Charter.

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the United Mexican States for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Vicente Fox, President of the United Mexican States, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

Address by Mr. Jorge Batlle Ibáñez, President of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay

The President: The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay.

Mr. Jorge Batlle Ibáñez, President of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. Jorge Batlle Ibáñez, President of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President Batlle Ibáñez (*spoke in Spanish*): I want first of all to stress that, under the current circumstances, our presence — everybody's presence — at this general debate unquestionably takes on special significance.

Every year, the United Nations prepares and submits to Member States for their consideration a comprehensive agenda containing many items of varied scope and nature. This session is no exception: the United Nations will not stop.

Yet, many things now appear completely different. The city of New York, the United States and every country, and the people of the United States and every people — all of humankind — have been cruelly attacked by terrorism, and its threat hangs over every one of us and over natural and peaceful relations among the peoples of the world. In short, this is a global phenomenon that demands of us a global answer and that has marked the start of the new millennium. The nations of my continent believe that to be so. The statements made by the Presidents of Brazil and of Mexico, which I endorse, made that perfectly clear.

The Millennium Summit, which brought us together here last year, provided an opportunity for us to identify the issues that affect us all and that we must face as part of a challenge that no one can avoid. It

defined an agenda of peace and hope for a world affected by common problems, although, it must be said, in different ways.

Today, we face a new scenario. Perhaps as never before, all of us, and hence the United Nations, have a common goal: to respond to terrorism, irrespective of boundaries, ideologies, religions, races and cultures. That commitment, undertaken with responsibility, involves taking every possible action without ever forgetting the higher goal: peace, whose supreme guarantee must continue to be international law and the conventions and treaties to which we are parties.

But there is no doubt that such a commitment is not enough. We must fight every form of terrorism at every level, domestic and international, and on every front — legal, military, security and intelligence, administrative and management. This demands of us strong conviction, confidence in our shared values, faith in humankind and the affirmation of life as the highest value.

Terrorism is blind and wicked by definition. Blind because it does not conceive or communicate goals shared by the rest and so plunges into irrationality. Wicked because it indiscriminately destroys people and property and sows fear, anxiety and sometimes panic.

Nevertheless, to fight it it will also be necessary to move against other enemies of peace, such as poverty and underdevelopment, to give every person good reason to live and to make all of us guardians of humankind, which is a common good from which no one must feel excluded, and for which we must fight unwaveringly.

There is no cause or banner that could justify this violence. That is precisely why we must prevent marginalization, helplessness and desperation from taking root in people's souls so that they look approvingly and complacently on the criminal actions of which we are victims.

Our task, then, is to galvanize everyone's spirit in the struggle against terrorism, because terrorism not only fails to help solve the problems afflicting society as a whole but also fills it with fear and plunges it into paralysis and confusion.

We move with ever greater determination towards a world and, consequently, towards a society that is evidently more and more globalized. The events of 11 September demonstrate that very clearly. Every people and every Government has been affected by those events.

We are all involved in what happens, in a more profound way than ever, because what happened not only affects the security of the people; it raises questions that are much simpler, but the answers to which are complex: what are all of our lives going to be like from now on? What is the life of my family going to be like? Of my children? Of my parents? And of the others, my neighbours, my friends? How will the simple acts of my life change? Will I be able to travel, receive letters, use transportation and cross bridges — without second thoughts, as was natural to us before?

This world and, in particular, the United Nations face a challenge for which they are not duly prepared. We have created the technological and communication means to unify the planet and globalize it. But we neither know how nor have the proper instruments to properly manage this process.

We are living through an amazing revolution, and it must be guided — driving it forward if it stalls, limiting it if it goes too far — in order to achieve the goals enabling the structuring of a new, balanced international system that takes into account the changes that have occurred for humankind over the last 50 years.

The United Nations was born as a response to a world that today no longer exists. The instruments and institutions it created in the past were a response to past realities — replaced today by new realities — in the political, demographic, cultural, religious and ecological spheres.

All the many countries that make up this global society and that, together, navigate through space, have the obligation of confronting this new reality, drawing on our diversity.

Uruguay, a small country, but one with a long international tradition — it was a participant in the 1907 Hague Conference to implement arbitration as the method for resolving conflicts, a member of the League of Nations and a founding Member of the United Nations in San Francisco — feels that this is our current situation, and we are ready to shoulder our due share of responsibility.

In the past, we created international financial and monetary institutions, and others for international

trade, such as the World Trade Organization, which is meeting today in Doha. All these institutions govern our activities and determine what we must do. But they never act in concert. While the world is global, their decisions are sectoral or singular.

While loans are granted to us or fiscal or monetary adjustments are required of us, the doors to markets do not at the same time open to our products and our labour. This way, instead of participating in the process of globalization, we are closed in nearly sealed compartments. Those who have attained a certain level of growth grow even more, while the rest, save a few exceptions, suffer losses and fall further away from the levels that would make it possible to enjoy the necessary prosperity.

Today the planet has 6 billion inhabitants. Only 1.1 billion of them live in developed areas. In 2050, not long from now — my grandchildren will not yet have reached my age — the planet will have 9.3 billion inhabitants, but still only 1.1 billion will live in developed areas.

Poverty not only destroys democracy. What is worse, it destroys societies and paves the way for violence and, as we have often seen, even in our midst, all forms of terrorism.

Finally, we consider it appropriate to repeat that we are far from holding the answer necessary for the world we have created.

We might not have spoken aloud these thoughts that assuredly many of us have always had, had it not been for the thousands of innocent women and men that died on that ill-fated 11 September. We owe to them — whom Americans will always remember with love and grief, feelings we also share — our most important responsibility: to see to it that they did not die in vain.

Their tragic fate has shown us our duty. Now it is time to do it.

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Jorge Batlle Ibáñez, President of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

Address by Mr. Fernando de la Rúa, President of the Argentine Republic

The President: The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Argentine Republic.

Mr. Fernando de la Rúa, President of the Argentine Republic, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. Fernando de la Rúa, President of the Argentine Republic, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President de la Rúa (*spoke in Spanish*): Allow me at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your election as President of the General Assembly. We are especially pleased that the designation went to a personality with such a remarkable career, a representative of the Republic of Korea, a country that maintains a friendly relationship and intense cooperation with Argentina. I also wish to acknowledge the excellent way in which the Foreign Minister of Finland, Mr. Harri Holkeri, presided over the Assembly at its fifty-fifth session.

I would also like to express our satisfaction at the re-election of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, for a second term. This reflects the unanimous support of the international community for the way in which he has decisively confronted the great challenges of peace, the rule of law and development at this very difficult stage of international life. The support given to him by the Member States reflects the widespread high opinion of his efforts and the work of the Organization, which was confirmed by the Nobel Peace Prize, a distinction that brings honour to those who work in the service of the United Nations and to its clear-sighted Secretary-General.

This distinction also comes at a moment when the full relevance of the United Nations has become dramatically urgent as a result of the criminal attacks against the United States of 11 September. In the face of those events, I wish to reiterate our solidarity and commitment with its Government and people. It was an attack against us all, against all humankind.

Those events have shown that terrorism can strike at any State and that no country can fight it in isolation. It is an international threat, and the only existing institution with the global reach, the United Nations,

must confront that threat within the political and legal framework established by the Organization.

The Millennium Declaration had already set as one of its objectives the adoption of concerted measures against international terrorism and the need for all States to accede as soon as possible to all the relevant international conventions. The adoption of Security Council resolutions 1368 (2001) and 1373 (2001) and of General Assembly resolution 56/1 shows that the United Nations has been equal to the circumstances, with the goal of using every means available to counter the threat to peace and security represented by terrorism.

The global effort against terrorism is an imperative for the international community, one blessed by the United Nations. Within the guidelines approved by the Organization, all States, groups of States or regional organizations must contribute to this common struggle.

Argentina expresses its full commitment to the fight against terrorism. Our nation has twice suffered attacks of this nature, in 1992 and 1994. The memory of those events helps us to understand the grief for innocent victims and to say that this fight is also our fight.

The recent Security Council and General Assembly resolutions have been supplemented by other instruments that reflect the will of the majority of States to define any terrorist act, without exception, as criminal and unjustifiable, no matter what the intended purposes. Existing resolutions and conventions have outlined a series of specific measures and rules to foster judicial and police cooperation and have criminalized many acts of terrorism, enshrining the principle that all States have an obligation to prosecute and punish the perpetrators.

Argentina is a party to the majority of the international treaties in effect and is making progress on ratifying the remainder, among them the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings, of 1997, and the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism, of 1999. We support the conclusion of the conventions currently under consideration that should be finalized before the end of this year, such as the convention on nuclear terrorism. I hope that the negotiations on a convention of a general nature will be successfully concluded. The existence of political differences or different interpretations related to other situations should not distract us from the urgent need to develop an instrument that would encompass all aspects of this threat.

At the level of the hemisphere, we have put into practice the regional system of legitimate defence and collective security established in the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance. At the same time, we have fostered the full operation of the Inter-American Committee on Terrorism and the drafting of an inter-American convention, that complements existing universal conventions, as well as the convening of a special conference on hemispheric security.

At the regional level, the countries of the Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR) are promoting measures to enhance technical and operational coordination, cooperation and assistance among the various agencies entrusted with the fight against terrorism in the field.

We must be aware that the approach to this problem will be incomplete if we fail to recognize the factors that nourish terrorism. In the framework of the increasing interdependence that characterizes the present stage of economic life, the benefits of development reach only a few States, and the increasing marginalization of countries and societies that live in extreme poverty, the tragedy of neglected or undernourished children, sickness and hunger become more evident. This uneven economic distribution, made even more tangible by modern communications, causes frustration in wide sectors of the dispossessed and creates the conditions for the outbreak of conflicts and confrontations, on which fundamentalist movements of various kinds are at work. This is why we need to reaffirm here the fundamental statement made a few years ago by Pope Paul VI: "the new name for peace is development".

This is a task for the international community as a whole, in a joint effort and a spirit of solidarity. It is wrong to minimize the importance of international cooperation and to leave on their own those who have problems surviving in the face of global economic competition.

The launching of a new round of negotiations at the World Trade Organization (WTO) could be an important signal to control the increasingly protectionist tendencies and to promote world economic recovery in the short term and growth in the

long term. It is a signal that will also bring additional confidence to the financial markets. Through the launching of a new round in Qatar, the 142 member countries of the WTO could give impetus to a process that lays the foundations for a more equitable and peaceful world.

The persistence of conflicts such as the one in the Middle East is a source of tension, with a wide range of repercussions for the region, causing legitimate concern for the international community. The Argentine Republic wishes to renew its expression of support for a stable and lasting peace in the Middle East, based on respect for the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to establish an independent State, as well as recognition of the right of the State of Israel to live in peace within safe and internationally recognized borders.

Violence and terrorism in any form are absolutely unacceptable and can only exacerbate the situation. The parties should urgently agree on a ceasefire and begin negotiations on a final settlement, which until recently seemed reachable.

The Secretary-General has offered us a road map for implementing the Millennium Declaration, which provides a responsible programme for confronting our current serious circumstances. The principal milestones of that road map deserve our support as a sound way towards peace-building and strengthening our security: the rule of law to fight terrorism with determination; conflict prevention and the strengthening of peacekeeping operations; the reform of sanctions regimes in order to avoid affecting civilian populations; the eradication of poverty and the promotion of development; respect for fundamental human rights throughout the world and for political and religious plurality; and the firm rejection of any attempt to associate certain religious creeds or nationalities with violence or terrorism.

We also share the Secretary-General's view of the importance of putting an end to the culture of impunity by bringing to trial the perpetrators of extremely serious international crimes. We underscore the historical importance of the establishment of the International Criminal Court and we reaffirm our support for measures to promote its prompt launching.

The great majority of humankind desires a future of peace and progress. The irrationality and violence of a minority can be isolated and defeated on the basis of cooperation among nations following these general principles, which we endorsed in the Millennium Declaration, and in regard to which we propose concrete measures today. We trust that we shall be up to that challenge.

I cannot conclude without recalling, as the General Assembly already knows, that the Argentine Republic is still engaged in a sovereignty dispute with the United Kingdom over the Malvinas, South Georgias and South Sandwich Islands and the surrounding maritime areas. The recovery of the full exercise of sovereignty over that part of our national territory, respecting the interests of their inhabitants and international law, is a precept enshrined in our Constitution. This issue is on the agenda of this Organization, which through repeated resolutions has asked the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom to resume negotiations on a just and lasting solution to the sovereignty dispute and thus to put an end to a colonial situation imposed by force in 1833.

Today, in response to that request, Argentina again reiterates its full readiness to resume bilateral negotiations with the United Kingdom in order to resolve the issue, as well as its support for the mission of good offices appropriately entrusted to the Secretary-General by the General Assembly to assist the parties in achieving that goal.

I conclude by calling for peace, justice and solidarity, so widely sought by all peoples defending life throughout the world.

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Argentine Republic for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Fernando de la Rúa, President of the Argentine Republic, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

Address by Mr. Hugo Chávez Frías, President of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela

The President: The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela.

Mr. Hugo Chávez Frías, President of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United

Nations His Excellency Mr. Hugo Chávez Frías, President of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President Chávez Frías (*spoke in Spanish*): Just over a year ago, we were here, attending the Millennium Summit, some 100 days before the dawn of the twenty-first century. At that time, I made a statement on behalf of Venezuela and its Bolivarian people, referring to the supreme example of Christ and his struggle for justice, peace and life.

In the brief span of time since then, having embarked on the new century — albeit with very painful steps, I should say — we have suffered the abominable terrorist attack of 11 September. In opposition to the culture of peace, to the dialogue among civilizations declared by the United Nations in 2001 and to the good will of the peoples of the world, the drums of war are suddenly thundering again and we say, louder and more passionately than we have in the past, that this struggle for peace is of fundamental importance.

From the outset, Venezuela and its people, Government and institutions have joined in the chorus of voices that first rose to reject these heinous acts. At this meeting in New York, in this incredible city, in this nation of North America, we take this opportunity to reiterate our grief and sympathy for the people and Government of the United States and its institutions over the attacks and the pain they have caused. We say, as we have said from the very day of the tragedy that has plunged the world into mourning and peril, that the fight against terrorism should become a war against war — a fight to achieve peace.

At the Millennium Summit, we also said, like Simón Bolivar, the liberator of South America, remembering his dream of the summit of Chimborazo: Let us speak the truth to all men and women. And precisely on the basis of the horrible and frightful truths that we are experiencing today in the world, let us call for a new world pact in the United Nations. We said in that speech just over one year ago that at the present time in our world human beings continue to die each day, but now the figures have doubled, and not because of a world war. No, now the principal causes of the horrible truth affecting the world's people are poverty, marginalization and hunger. What is foremost in this dramatic and tragic moment is that we must recognize the truth and then build a new global pact in the United Nations without delay.

Now, at the beginning of the twenty-first century and the third millennium, we at the United Nations should concentrate our greatest possible efforts on the moral, intellectual, scientific, social, cultural, economic and financial order in the fight against the demons of hunger, poverty and death that afflict the planet. This is what we said a year ago in this beautiful setting. I believe we are fulfilling the mandate of Bolivar to state the truth to all men and women.

Venezuela recognized the validity, the necessity, the great vision and the truth that our Secretary-General launched as a challenge to all of us in the preparatory document that subsequently became the Millennium Declaration. Today, our dear friend Kofi Annan reminded us of that challenge in his comments opening this session of debates, when he recalled, for example, that last year we committed ourselves to reducing poverty 50 per cent by the year 2015, having set quantifiable and precise goals, such as reducing by half the number of human beings who survive on incomes of less than one dollar per day.

At the Millennium Summit, great truths were stated and we heard the appeals of our peoples. We said then and continue to say that all of the world's children must have access to a full education by the year 2015. As the Secretary-General also reminded us, all human beings should have access to potable water. We are not talking about the Internet — we are talking about drinking water, the water basic to life.

The goals set last year were discussed over the following weeks in hundreds of marvellous speeches. But today, one year later, we must continue to ask ourselves how we are going to achieve them. What are the successful strategies that can be employed to achieve these lofty goals? The answer is justice, the only path to true peace. We said that we had come to uncover truths; that for the honour, dignity and life of our peoples, we must come here to speak without fear. We said that here, in this setting, we must speak without the double standard that sometimes invades our discussions. As I see our brothers from India here, I think of the Hindu philosopher Jiddu Krishnamurti, who spoke of truth as a basic dynamic in understanding the secrets of life. Truth, truth, truth. We want truths. If we do not recognize truths, it will be difficult for us to

find true solutions to the horrible tragedies that the world is living through.

On behalf of the people of Venezuela, I return here today to contribute ideas to the effort to seek truths and to speak true words that spring from a combination of reason and passion. They are not just cold words on paper but come from the heart, and they must not remain on paper as cold discourse but must touch the wound of real truth. Today, truth is an open wound and it is our ultimate challenge to heal it. We come, then, without fear, in good faith and with much optimism about life, brotherhood, unity and the possibility that we, as the leaders of our countries, can seek, grasp and build together real solutions to real problems in the quest for justice and peace.

We in Venezuela believe that the world must be examined under a great and powerful magnifying glass, because it has gone to bad to worse, stumbling and struggling from error to error. At the end of the Second World War, the United Nations was born to struggle for peace and prevent new horrors from happening. We have not avoided those horrors. The Berlin Wall and the Soviet Union fell at the end of the twentieth century, and voices were raised saying history has come to an end: we have arrived at the end of our path, the final era, one of technology, of the global village, of globalization, of the new world order. This is the triumph of a model — the triumph of one philosophy as the result of the collapse of another. But that claim was a lie. Who can claim victory in today's world, which is filled with poverty and tears, pain and death? What model could claim victory?

Venezuela would like to make a fervent and passionate appeal, hopeful that we will be properly understood — indeed, we are sure that we will be, because we are speaking with love, faith and hope, calling on the Lord God, invoking life and peace and respect for brotherhood. Let our words be properly understood. We must undertake a thorough examination of and review the political models that exist in our countries today. In America we speak of democracy — yes, democracy. But in Venezuela we ask what kind of democracy we are talking about. A democracy such as Venezuela had for 40 years, from 1958 to 1998, which ended up destroying a people, taking away their sovereignty and causing them to live in poverty in a fertile land rich with resources such as oil and gold? That was no more than an ornamental flourish that mimicked democracy, and it ended in tyranny. We never again want such a democracy in Venezuela, and we are certain that we will never have it again. Democracy must be based on popular participation, ethics, justice and equality.

We in Venezuela have been saying that we must also review the economic models that some tried to put in place among our peoples. Is neoliberalism the way? Yes — it is the way to hell. Let us traverse the streets and cities of Latin America and we will see the consequences of neoliberal policies run wild, as His Holiness John Paul II has said. We must review our economies, our ethics, our policies — everything must be re-examined today if we want the world to be a viable place and if we want peace to reign on earth.

Is globalization the path to development? It could be, if it were based on justice, equality and respectful relations among all. We need to re-examine everything. As Viviane Forrester said, using the phrase "economic horror", the world is undergoing a process of change, and that should also be cause for optimism. The world is changing; it is moving on. New developments are taking place; let us move with them, peacefully and democratically, while searching for justice. As Ignacio Ramonet said in his reflections in *Le Monde Diplomatique*, alternative paths are appearing all over the world. Venezuela is making its humble contribution through a peaceful and democratic revolution. We are committed to the human being, to an international policy of peace, friendship, respect and multipolarity. And we are here today to reaffirm that commitment.

Venezuela is speaking out in condemning terrorism. Venezuela is speaking out — and taking action — in expressing its solidarity in the struggle against terrorism. At the same time, in speaking out we are giving voice to the mandate of the United Nations to ensure respect for international law and human rights. Any action taken against any crime must be legitimate. It must be based on respect for human rights and international law. No one should understand Venezuela's words to be a condemnation of anything or anyone. We are calling for reflection so as to ensure that we act within the norms of international law and the mandates of the United Nations. We cannot throw that overboard.

Venezuela has also shouldered its responsibility in various forums and international arenas. Within the Organization of American States, we are proposing that a social charter be adopted, in addition to the

Democratic Charter, to give more weight to our continent's struggles to place the human being at the forefront of our endeavours. Within the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, of which we hold the presidency of the conference of heads of State, we proposed — and achieved consensus among all — to ensure balance and dialogue between the producers and consumers of oil, aware as we are of the need to guarantee supplies and a fair price for all for that vital resource for development and for life.

Within the Group of Fifteen, Venezuela, which holds the chairmanship, is promoting the North-South dialogue, in particular the need to revitalize it. It should not be a dialogue of the deaf, but a dialogue of equals who are seeking solutions — dialogue and cooperation of South with South and of Latin America and the Caribbean with Africa, Asia and all the peoples of the world. Within the Group of 77, Venezuela is working for the same strategic consensus, dialogue and unity. We are very optimistic, as everyone should be.

Despite everything, however, we need great political will — greater political will — to bring about all of those changes and transformations. To use the vocabulary of the theory of war, we must put the cavalry on the front line. The cavalry is policy; the cavalry is ethics and the will for change, which we must promote.

Finally, I believe that, over and above the pain, the condemnation and the struggle against terrorism and against the savages who perpetrated those horrific attacks, the greatest honour must go to the fallen — the innocent victims of those acts, and the many other victims throughout the world, those who have suffered and for whom we have wept: the innocent children who have fallen, the men and the women. The British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, said something that I thought was wonderful in response to a comment that I made during a conversation we had in Downing Street a few days ago. He said that if anything good can come from this crisis and this pain, it is a global alliance to combat the causes of violence throughout the world.

Those who have spoken before me have pointed out many of these causes. The Emir of Qatar and Chairman of the Organization of the Islamic Conference also made a very important point. He said that our words should not once again remain empty. As we say in our part of the world, there is a big difference between words and action. Now is the time to move towards concrete action. We want to see a Palestinian State become a reality. Let us not come here day after day, month after month and year after year just to repeat the same old words. Let us move on towards reality. We want to see the transformation of the Bretton Woods institutions. We want to see the transformation of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. We want justice for the wretched of the Earth, as Frantz Fanon said. But we want it now, not tomorrow; tomorrow may be too late.

In conclusion, as I said during the debate on 7 September last year, quoting from the Bible,

> "To everything there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven". (*The Holy Bible, Ecclesiastes 3:1*)

Sisters and brothers of this planet in sorrow, of this our world, let us do all that we can. Truly, we must transform this difficult time in which we are living into a time of the people, a time of justice; that is the only way to achieve genuine peace. As I ended by saying last year, let us save the world!

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Hugo Chávez Frías, President of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

Address by Mr. Ricardo Lagos, President of the Republic of Chile

The President: The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Republic of Chile.

Mr. Ricardo Lagos, President of the Republic of Chile, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. Ricardo Lagos, President of the Republic of Chile, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President Lagos (*spoke in Spanish*): Mr. President, I wish to congratulate you on your election, which is a mark of recognition of the Republic of Korea and of your distinguished personal record in the public and academic spheres. I am

confident that, under your guidance, the work of the Assembly will be successful for the States Members of the United Nations.

Today New York is receiving us as it always has. Why, then, did we witness, two months ago, a terrorist act that shook the world? If I may be allowed to say so, it is because New York is the city that best represents the values that the twentieth century defended at the cost of tremendous suffering. It is a city that welcomes those persecuted by intolerance of all kinds; respects all nationalities, races and religions, all ideas, and the freedom to think and to create; offers opportunities for all to succeed; and protects individual rights through democracy.

It is not by chance that it was here in New York, on the banks of the East River, that the Headquarters of the United Nations was erected. It was built here because the values of this city are the values of our universal Organization of nations.

The terrorist attack on New York was therefore an attack on the unity of our nations. It was our values, our security and our faith in a better world — a world based on dialogue and cooperation — that were the targets of terrorist fanaticism. That is why we have felt so close to the United States during this period: its pain is our pain; its grief is our grief; and its response to terrorism is our response.

We are here to reiterate our condolences to the people and to the Government of the United States. The sight of thousands of persons bearing photographs of their lost family members amid the smoking ruins gave rise to a profound sense of empathy among Chileans.

Hence we wish to express our admiration for the unity and courage of the American people and of the city of New York. We pay tribute to the Government of the United States and to President Bush, who, faced with an attack of this magnitude, has managed to act on the basis of reason rather than emotion in seeking diplomatic support and in building an extremely broad-based coalition.

The holding of this General Assembly marks a sound defeat for the terrorist cause, which seeks to replace dialogue with the cult of violence, and reflects our renewed faith in this world forum.

We are here to extend to the Secretary-General and to the United Nations our warmest congratulations on having been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, which this year has recognized the outstanding contribution of the United Nations to our quest for peace.

Many have remarked that the twentieth century has been one of the most violent and deadly in the history of humankind. However, the twentieth century was also the century that produced major advances, improved our quality of life and eliminated great evils forever.

The First World War was followed by the League of Nations and by a new awareness of the fundamental equality of peoples. The Second World War was necessary to put an end to fascism in its most monstrous manifestations, but also out of it emerged the United Nations, the decolonization process, the Bretton Woods economic agreements and a new awareness of the fundamental equality of human beings. The cold war brought about a clash between two political and economic visions, but, once ended, it left in its wake a new awareness of democracy and individual freedoms.

At the dawn of the twenty-first century, we are confronting a new conflict of global proportions. Our first objective must be to put an end forever to fanaticism and to the kind of intolerance that is translated into terror.

Chile believes that this vast diplomatic alliance must also pursue other objectives. Like other victorious coalitions throughout history, it must begin to ask now what new progress it will seek to achieve for humanity after its victory. We must start to envision the new world that must emerge from this tragic period in our history — a world that is better organized and that shows more solidarity. Indeed, the terrorists will have achieved their objective if, as a result of their attacks, the globalization process changes direction and begins a trend towards less freedom and decreased international trade.

On the other hand, as the Secretary-General has so rightly said, in order to achieve success in the globalization process, we must learn how to manage it better and, above all, how to manage it better together.

I think that it is very important to understand that of the 6 billion people in the world, half are struggling to live on less than $2 a day. They have no personal computer; they have never made a telephone call. They have never seen these things. Though wealth has increased, there has been no significant decrease in the

number of poor people, and the gap between rich and poor is daily becoming increasingly difficult to bridge. The balance of our world is becoming precarious, and we must address this issue.

The recent tragic events have shown us that no nation on earth that can consider itself invulnerable and that genuine security can be attained only through cooperation among peoples and States. What makes our citizens vulnerable today — besides terrorism — are such phenomena as ignorance, hunger, drug trafficking, climate change, uncontrolled population movements, and the erratic flow of $1.5 trillion every day in financial markets. We must devise ways of tackling these phenomena.

Chile therefore supports the coalition of countries that, in exercise of the right of self-defence, have embarked on a campaign aimed at eradicating terrorism. At stake here are the universal principles and values that we share and that we must defend. These actions, therefore, are not targeting the Afghan people or the Arab world, nor are they aimed at any particular religion, all of which we deeply respect and admire.

In order to put an end to terrorism, there is a need for broad, ongoing and resolute cooperation. That is why Chile has supported the responses decided upon in this Organization. We are actively implementing Security Council resolution 1373 (2001). We are already a party to the 12 global conventions against terrorism, and today we will deposit with the Secretary-General the respective instruments of ratification. My country has ratified all United Nations agreements.

Similarly, we are working to coordinate America's response. We are partners in a comprehensive dialogue to review and improve each country's domestic legislation and legal order to root out the terrorist threat.

We reaffirm the need to strengthen measures to promote mutual confidence and cooperation in the area of defence. In that regard, Argentina and Chile have standardized their data on military expenditures, and we are working towards the same objective with our neighbour Peru.

Yet we cannot conceal our frustration at the difficulties blocking progress towards limiting the manufacture of and illicit trade in small arms and light weapons.

We also feel obliged to say that we view with horror the deteriorating situation in the Middle East. That conflict poses a threat to international security. Like other delegations that have spoken today, we hope for recognition of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including the right to establish an independent State, as well as the right of Israel to live within secure and internationally recognized borders and at peace with its neighbours.

Recent acts of international terrorism have affected our economies, which are the basis for social progress for our peoples. Fear has gripped the markets. The only certainty today is that uncertainty will prevail in the future so long as there is armed action because of this conflict. If that proves to be the case, and if international markets fall, terrorism will have achieved an unexpected victory.

I therefore want to say that institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank must address the concerns of the international political bodies and devote special attention to the additional costs of the response to terrorism. We are confident of success at the Doha, Qatar, ministerial meeting, which will be discussing ways to make trade freer. We want to address items of concern to all: agricultural products, services, intellectual property, anti-dumping and the settlement of trade disputes. They are all on the agenda, and they must all be addressed.

The great coalition assembled to combat terrorism must also promote cooperation among Governments in order to ensure that no areas are excluded from globalization. That is the best way to guarantee security for us all. To create a safer world, we need more and better globalization, not more autarky. We need more and better democracy, not more dictatorial authoritarianism. We must do a better job of protecting human rights. Here, I believe we must act preventively to safeguard our democracies and to ensure respect for human rights.

Democracy is strengthened with each free and secret election with the participation of an informed electorate. It is strengthened with higher levels of justice and social equality. To restore people's confidence in democracy, democracy must be complemented by an end to social injustice. Neither lack of development nor specific cultural characteristics can be used as a pretext to justify curtailing rights recognized in the Universal

Declaration of Human Rights. The fight against discrimination and intolerance must be a frontal attack on poverty.

We need institutions that ensure respect for human rights. Hence the importance of the International Criminal Court, which should serve as an key instrument for the universal protection of fundamental human rights, whatever the status of the violator.

I have come from afar, from the South of the world, with an optimistic vision. Before leaving my country, I met with young people of varied origins and with dignitaries of different religions. I met with Catholic and Protestant bishops; with Jewish and Muslim representatives: all those with whom we share an annual joint religious service — unique in the world — to celebrate our national independence. I saw in all of them — Jews and Muslims; Catholics, Protestants and freethinkers — a renewed capacity for understanding and comprehension that I am sure is shared among western and eastern countries, among ethnic groups and religions — in short, among all those here today — with the objective of attaining our common objective of peace and progress.

Let us learn from our experience in assembling this great global coalition to respond politically and militarily to the terrorist threat. Let us make it into a coalition that also seeks other goals. In this coalition, all are important, irrespective of creed, race, political history or ideology; in the coalition there are no small or large countries.

Let us ensure that international institutions take due account of the interests of all countries, large, medium-sized and small. Let us ensure that this grand coalition will bring us security not only against terrorism but also against hunger, vulnerability and discrimination. I propose that we should update the institutions that the founders of the United Nations created here 50 years ago.

That would be the most fitting tribute to the victims of terrorism and the best gauge of our commitment to the weak and powerless of the Earth.

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Chile for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Ricardo Lagos, President of the Republic of Chile, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

Address by Mr. Seyed Mohammad Khatami, President of the Islamic Republic of Iran

The President: The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Mr. Seyed Mohammad Khatami, President of the Islamic Republic of Iran, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. Seyed Mohammad Khatami, President of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President Khatami (*spoke in Farsi; English text furnished by the delegation*): At the outset, Sir, I would like to congratulate you on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly. I would also like to express my appreciation for the wise and persistent efforts of the Secretary-General during the current crucial world situation.

Human society stepped into the third millennium with hopes and expectations. The United Nations designated the last year of the twentieth century as the International Year for the Culture of Peace and the first year of the twenty-first century as the United Nations Year of Dialogue among Civilizations. Today, however, the world faces immense tragedies and grave concerns. One of the most brutal and savage manifestations of this was the terrorist attack against the American people.

The decisive, immediate and unequivocal global condemnation of the terrorist attacks of 11 September represents the emergence of a public attitude and common political will all over the world to counter terrorism in all its manifestations, irrespective of motives, perpetrators or victims. The Leader of the Islamic Revolution of Iran spoke of the "jihad against this evil phenomenon" so as to highlight the genuine view of Islam and the Islamic Revolution vis-à-vis terrorism and violence.

Immediately after the carnage of 11 September, and in the name of the people and Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran, I expressed sympathy with

the American nation and all the victims of that criminal act. And in the first days of the tragedy, in a letter to the Secretary-General, I underlined that,

> "Terrorism is the common problem of today's world. It threatens peace, liberty, spirituality, knowledge, culture and global coexistence. A sustainable solution to this hideous and dangerous phenomenon requires vision, serious political will and active participation and cooperation of all members of the human society."

The threat of terrorism should not be underestimated, nor should its devastating consequences be measured only in the visible realm of politics. Terrorism is the chronic menace of our era, rooted in the mentality of violence, the logic of might and the practice of injustice and discrimination. When spirituality, ethics and justice find no room in the realms of politics, economics and culture, and when discrimination, marginalization, exclusion and the application of double standards push justice aside, the world is bound to face alienation, despair, extremism and lawlessness. In such a climate, terrorism finds fertile ground for growth.

The disaster in the United States is so tragic and grave that thinkers are urgently called on to engage in deep reflection and dialogue on its real causes. For many years, our great thinkers have cautioned us to avoid submission to instrumental reasoning, warning of the threats and tragedies that it could generate.

On the other hand, some of the great thinkers of our time have ascribed atrocities such as fascism to the reign of mythological speculation. They have attributed the emergence of fascism not to the expansion of rationality but to evading rationality and succumbing to the reign of myth.

This does not mean that we will succumb to mythical speculation if we do not want to. We have the choice not to negate rationality. But at the same time, we must also combine rationality with empathy, the mind with the heart. Neither one can be without the other. Neither one can be neglected. If it is, it will lead to tragedy, no matter under what pretext, religion, race, nationalism or any other nation. The same mythical speculation is seen in modern cult ideology, which is a form of rationality that is reduced to instrumental reasoning and thereby stripped of all its moral and human aspects. Religion, tradition, philosophy and art descend to achieving only one goal, that of political ends.

One of the most common features of these ideologies, which is regrettably prevalent, is the glorification of the self and the demonization of opposing groups and ideas. The advocates of this ideology in the West attribute to Islam, the religion of humanity, compassion and justice, such labels as terrorism. In the same manner, in parts of the Islamic world, the West is equated with suppression. Such polarization of the world and human beings would lead to horrifying political and security consequences for the whole world.

The world has yet to overcome the horror and disbelief caused by the malicious terrorist attacks of 11 September against thousands of innocent people. At the same time, the most destructive modern weapons are being used in one of the most deprived parts of the world against an oppressed and dispossessed people. Once again, history repeats its sad experience that war triggers war.

The time is ripe for us to analyse the history and consequences of exclusionary ways of acting, to initiate ways to engage intellectuals from different cultures in dialogue and to encourage the public to embark upon learning for the sake of dialogue and dialogue for the sake of learning and to reinforce the art of listening as sacred and invaluable.

Angry politicians should be prevented from taking the initiative in ongoing developments. They should be made to yield to the judgement of wisdom and fairness.

The American nation has experienced one of the most brutal forms of terrorism, in which the blind hatred of terrorists has prevented the recovery of the bodies of the victims of the 11 September tragedy. Today, other nations walk hand in hand with the American nation.

Today, beyond mere rhetoric, one can see the convergence of the ideas of the peoples of the United States and Iran, who have also experienced, in earlier times, the mute but brutal massacre resulting from the use of chemical weapons. This convergence of ideas can also be discerned among all those refugees and displaced persons who are victims of war, suppression and terrorism — including State and non-State terrorism — in Afghanistan and Palestine.

We must have empathy for the suffering of people everywhere: in occupied Palestine, oppressed Afghanistan, New York, Washington or any corner of the globe.

We shall rise to the challenge of promoting peace, security and development among all nations on the basis of justice, and we believe that in today's interconnected world, we cannot live in islands of prosperity and progress while the rest of the world suffers from increasing poverty, illiteracy, disease and insecurity. Acquiescing to any act of terrorism, anywhere in the world, is inconsistent with any religious or ethical principle. Likewise, resorting to violence and revenge to counter such acts could hardly be justified because of ethical and humane considerations. Lacing the sacred realm of religion with violence and terror is a grave disservice to all religions and their followers. The divine religions call for peace, tolerance and compassion. They unequivocally repudiate — in essence and appearance — any thought or act of violence. I would like to quote the late leader of the Islamic revolution, Imam Khomeini, who said that "as followers of Islam, we always oppose war and desire peace and tranquillity among all States."

Let us accept that no country in the world is immune to terrorism. We should therefore seek solutions at the highest possible level.

Today there is unprecedented momentum in the world for combating terrorism, which should not be lost. To this end, the United Nations can arrange and guide a genuine and legitimate endeavour in the international fight against terrorism. The Islamic Republic of Iran is an active partner in this global coalition and spares no effort for the success of the international community in uprooting terrorism through viable, just and non-discriminatory measures. By articulating a comprehensive definition of terrorism, the United Nations can overcome one of the major historical hurdles to avoiding further misuse of that term. The adoption of Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) and its effective implementation by all States can be considered a first step for a coordinated international campaign against terrorism. Moreover, negotiations on the draft comprehensive convention on terrorism, based on internationally accepted definitions and principles, would provide an effective basis for collective measures in this respect.

The 11 September attack indicated that the division between centre and periphery can no longer define the security order of the world today, for even the most marginalized sectors might be able to inflict blows on the biggest Powers. This development has taken on all the more threatening dimensions in the light of the emergence of the dangerous phenomenon of bioterrorism.

The conflict-stricken regions of the world require urgent and comprehensive attention. After decades of war, insecurity and destruction, Afghanistan needs order, law, security and stability. The ongoing military operation in Afghanistan cannot, while inflicting destruction and casualties, address the root causes of the kind of terrorism that has been forced on the defenceless people of that country. On the contrary: it is more likely that the continuation of the current military approach could incite sentiments that intensify intolerance and violence in the region and the whole world.

In the midst of the global terrorism crisis, the world faces an intensive and severe kind of terrorism in the Middle East. The occupation of the Palestinian territories, the expulsion of the Palestinian people from their homeland, the Judaization of Palestine — in particular Al-Quds Al-Sharif — the building of illegal settlements, the killing and terrorizing of defenceless Palestinian civilians in their homeland, and the destruction of historical sites, civil institutions and residential areas are all examples of this phenomenon.

I would also like to underscore, on behalf of the Group of 77, the significance of poverty alleviation worldwide and the need for the support of the United Nations. Poverty breeds violence and intolerance. The recent slowdown in world economic growth and development caused by the terrorist attacks further aggravates the economic hardships of the developing countries.

For a secure and hopeful life, the world therefore needs innovative approaches and collective measures. Let us therefore build a coalition for peace instead of war and hostility. The initiative of dialogue among civilizations is a step in this direction, and it offers a new paradigm of interaction among nations and cultures in a world that longs for peace and security.

Can the United Nations take the lead in devising a programme to implement this fair and reasonable approach and become the focus of a global coalition for

peace based on justice? I have every confidence in the wisdom and the will of the Secretary-General — illustrated, *inter alia*, by the publication of a book, entitled *Crossing the Divide* — to define a new paradigm of dialogue among civilizations. World public opinion is supportive of this proposal. The adoption of the Global Agenda for Dialogue among Civilizations yesterday represents a beginning for the crystallization of this common desire and will of the global community.

The achievements of the thirty-first United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) General Conference in establishing dialogue among civilizations as one of its strategic objectives and in adopting the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity represent yet another serious indication of this global trend, and I wish to pay tribute to UNESCO and its Director-General. Will politicians and statesmen also submit to this approach, to prevent the transformation of the clash among States into a clash among civilizations? I am hopeful; the future will be the judge.

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Islamic Republic of Iran for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Seyed Mohammad Khatami, President of the Islamic Republic of Iran, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

The President: Before calling on the first speaker in the general debate, I should like to remind members of the decision taken by the General Assembly at its third plenary meeting, on 19 September 2001, that congratulations should not be expressed inside the General Assembly Hall after a speech has been delivered. In this connection, may I remind members of another decision taken by the General Assembly at the same meeting: that speakers in the general debate, after delivering their statement, would leave the Assembly Hall through room GA-200, located behind the podium, before returning to their seats. I would also like to appeal to Member States to limit their statements to 15 minutes.

Address by Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, Prime Minister of the Republic of India

The President: The Assembly will now hear an address by the Prime Minister of the Republic of India.

Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, Prime Minister of the Republic of India, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, Prime Minister of the Republic of India, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

Mr. Vajpayee (India) (*spoke in Hindi; interpretation provided by the delegation*): I congratulate the President on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its fifty-sixth session. I also take this opportunity to warmly congratulate the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, and the United Nations on being honoured with the Nobel Peace Prize.

This session of the General Assembly is being held in the shadow of the barbaric terrorist acts of 11 September, which dramatically reminded us that neither distance nor power insulates a State from terrorism. Such acts represent an arrogant rejection of the values of freedom and tolerance, which democratic and pluralistic societies cherish.

Even while uniting the nations of the world in their grief, this terrible tragedy has created the opportunity to fashion a determined global response to terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, wherever it exists and under whatever name.

We in India know from our own bitter experience that terrorists develop global networks driven by religious extremism. Their operations are supported by drug trafficking, money laundering and arms smuggling. Some States follow a policy of sponsoring and sheltering them. Terrorists can only be countered through closely coordinated efforts of the international community.

Security Council resolutions 1368 (2001) and 1373 (2001) are steps in the right direction, but it requires the firm political will of the freedom-loving world to implement them rigorously. The two crucial elements in this would be strict curbs on sources of financing for terrorists and denying them safe havens for training, arming and operation.

We must firmly rebuff any ideological, political or religious justification for terrorism. We should reject self-serving arguments seeking to classify terrorism according to its root causes, and therefore justifying

terrorist action somewhere while condemning it elsewhere. Those that advance these arguments should explain what the root causes of the brutal acts of 11 September were.

India supports the current campaign against the terrorist networks in Afghanistan. We hope that it reaches an early and successful conclusion. That country's current travails can only end with the establishment of a broad-based, representative and neutral Government, which would stop the export of terrorism and extremism. The international community should work towards this goal, even while the military campaign continues, so that we avoid a political vacuum at the end of the campaign.

We must recognize that current structures to facilitate a post-Taliban political settlement are unrepresentative and therefore ineffective. Located as it is in Afghanistan's neighbourhood, India's vital national interests are affected by developments in it. We also have traditionally close links with Afghanistan. This is the basis for our belief that India can play a useful role in this process.

The task of reconstruction in post-conflict Afghanistan also merits the urgent attention of the international community. It would require massive external assistance to create an economic situation conducive to the speedy return and rehabilitation of the millions of Afghans who have taken refuge in other countries of this region. Again India stands ready to join international efforts for this.

We have already announced relief assistance of a million tons of wheat, medicines and medical assistance for needy Afghans within, and outside, the country. We have also pledged $100 million to post-conflict Afghanistan for reconstruction. We are prepared to do more.

Nearly 6,000 lives were lost on 11 September, but the global economic downturn in its aftermath will take a far larger human toll, mainly in the developing world. The World Bank has estimated that tens of thousands more children will die worldwide and some 10 million more people are likely to go below the poverty line of $1 a day. It is pertinent to reflect on these chilling statistics even as the Ministerial Conference gets under way in Doha to consider World Trade Organization (WTO) issues. Before we embark on any new initiatives for globalization and sustainable development, we should recognize that political support for them will be determined primarily by the impact of these regimes on poverty.

For most developing countries, the Uruguay Round has done little for economic growth, while poverty levels and income gaps have worsened. Globalization has constrained developing countries in mobilizing public resources for poverty alleviation. That is why public support for the globalization regime has vanished in developing countries. This is also why we have argued strongly that implementation issues should first be resolved before we try to widen the WTO agenda further. Our public is unwilling to accept another post-dated cheque, when an earlier one has bounced.

Similarly, the movement towards sustainable development has proved a disappointment. Developing countries are unable to realize fair payments for their sovereign biodiversity resources and traditional knowledge. The treaties on climate change and biodiversity have also failed to activate the anticipated investment and technology transfers to developing countries. Industrialized countries have not shown the political will to enhance their overseas development budgets. Multilateral development agencies are also constrained in their resources, of which, in any case, very little is available on concessional terms.

The inevitable conclusion is that for current regimes of globalization and sustainable development to be strengthened, or even to survive, they must be re-engineered to generate large-scale finances for poverty alleviation. The passion for globalization has to be tempered by compassion for its victims. Sadly, this thought has not penetrated into the thinking of the developed economies. Their actions also do not reflect the realization that there cannot be a sustainable revival of their own sluggish economies unless the globalization and sustainable development priorities are re-oriented and anchored in the developmental needs of two-thirds of the global population.

A year ago, I suggested in my speech to the United States Congress a comprehensive global dialogue on development. The aim of such a dialogue would be to address the highly unstable situation in which one-third of the world's population lives in luxury and condemns the remaining two-thirds to poverty and want. It is a fertile breeding ground for political unrest, economic chaos and social fractures.

India would be happy to coordinate this dialogue, with the immediate objective of mobilizing resources for poverty alleviation programmes in developing countries. A preliminary agenda for the dialogue could include the accelerated liquidation of external debts of low-income and highly indebted countries; poverty alleviation programmes specifically aimed at developing countries facing financial crises; stabilization of international prices of primary commodity exports; and, most importantly, welfare and development programmes for all the world's needy children — for their nutrition, health, education and protection from degrading and hazardous employment.

The struggle for equitable development and the war against poverty are as important as our campaign against terrorism and our collective search for security. At a time when an external stimulus has motivated us to unite against terrorism and for security, let us summon an equally strong inner resolve for development and poverty alleviation. They are just as crucial for a global order at peace with itself.

This fundamental and seamless linkage between peace, security and development can be recalled in the sage words of the great Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore:

> "From now onward, any nation that takes an isolated view of its own interests will run contrary to the spirit of the New Age, and will know no peace. From now onward, the anxiety that each country has for its own safety must embrace the welfare of the whole world."

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister of India for his statement.

Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Prime Minister of India, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

Agenda item 9 (*continued*)

General debate

Address by Mr. Lee Han-dong, Prime Minister of the Republic of Korea

The President: The Assembly will now hear an address by His Excellency Mr. Lee Han-dong, Prime Minister of the Republic of Korea.

Mr. Lee Han-dong, Prime Minister of the Republic of Korea, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. Lee Han-dong (Republic of Korea) (*spoke in Korean; English text provided by the delegation*): Before all else, on behalf of the Government and people of the Republic of Korea, I wish to convey our deepest condolences and sympathy to the bereaved families and friends of those who lost lives in the horrendous terrorist attacks of 11 September. This unprecedented criminal act has posed a grave threat to international peace and security, as well as a serious challenge to human dignity. Such terrorist acts constitute a crime against humanity and civilization that cannot be justified by any cause.

To forestall the recurrence of such incidents and to eradicate international terrorism, comprehensive and common efforts at the international level are urgently needed. The United Nations is expected to play an important role in these efforts. Immediately after the terrorist attacks in September, the Security Council and the General Assembly adopted resolutions denouncing terrorism and calling for measures for its elimination. This prompt action, as well as the ensuing debates at the United Nations, attest to the major role to be played by the Organization in the anti-terrorism effort.

The Government of the Republic of Korea will continue to actively take part in the measures taken by the United Nations, including the implementation of Security Council resolution 1373 (2001), and will join the effort to free the international community from the scourge of terrorism. At the same time, we will spare no effort in rendering humanitarian assistance to the refugees who have been displaced as a result of the war against terrorism.

Furthermore, in preparing to co-host the 2002 Korea/Japan FIFA World Cup, we will do our utmost to ensure that the event is held in a secure atmosphere free from the threat of terrorism.

I stand here with much reminiscence. The Republic of Korea, once one of the major recipients of United Nations assistance, is now an active contributor to the effort to realize the ideals and goals of this body. It is also the country whose Minister for Foreign Affairs had the honour of presiding over the first session of the General Assembly in the new century.

The birth of the Republic and its development thereafter owe a great deal to United Nations

assistance. Indeed, the Government of the Republic of Korea was born from the United Nations-supervised elections held pursuant to the United Nations resolution calling for an independent Government in Korea. During the Korean war, in the early 1950s, we were able to defend our country, thanks to the participation and noble sacrifice of the United Nations forces.

After the war, as the Korean people strove to overcome the war's devastation, rebuild the country, achieve economic development and emerge a democracy, upholding human rights, we found enormous strength and encouragement in the support and cooperation rendered by the United Nations. The Korean people will never forget this. We will redouble our efforts to do our share for the cause of global peace and prosperity, as enshrined in the Charter.

Looking back on the Republic of Korea's arduous and eventful process of development over the past half century, we see that it is an exemplary case of all the good that can be achieved when the international community works closely with a people determined to overcome poverty and the legacy of conflict in order to build a better future for themselves.

Ten years have passed since the simultaneous admission of the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the United Nations. In the intervening decade, particularly during recent years, much progress has been made in inter-Korean relations. Taking this opportunity, I would like to briefly touch upon the peace process that is unfolding on the Korean peninsula — an effort for which we seek members' continuing support.

The first inter-Korean summit, held in June 2000, was truly a historic event for peace, not only on the Korean peninsula, but also in East Asia and indeed the world. Before the summit, the Korean peninsula had remained a lone island where the cold war maintained its foothold. The summit initiated the process of melting away that foothold — the icy wall of hostility and confrontation that had thickened between South and North Korea over the past half century. The whole world welcomed the breakthrough, expressing high hopes for peace on the Korean peninsula, as exemplified here by the joint statement of the co-chairpersons of the Millennium Summit and the General Assembly resolution.

Since then positive changes have taken place on the Korean peninsula. There have been three rounds of reunions by members of separated families. At the opening of the Sydney Olympic Games, the world was moved to see South and North Korean athletes march in together. The project to relink a railway and road between the two Koreas is now under way. The first South-North Defence Ministers' meeting was held with a view to reducing tension and furthering peace.

Meanwhile, North Korea has steadily expanded its diplomatic horizon, establishing diplomatic ties with most countries of the European Union and many others. Such endeavours have been strongly welcomed and supported by the Republic of Korea, which has striven to shore up global support for the Korean peace process.

The goal of our sunshine policy of promoting engagement between South and North Korea is for the two sides to live together in peace and cooperation, in preparation for peaceful unification. The engagement policy is actively supported by the whole world, not to mention the Korean people and key neighbours surrounding the Korean peninsula. North Korea, too, embraced the spirit of peace, reconciliation and cooperation Joint Declaration of 15 June 2000 issued at the inter-Korean summit.

The Government of the Republic of Korea will continue to do its utmost so that a lasting peace may take root on the Korean peninsula and global peace may be strengthened. We sincerely thank the United Nations and the leaders of the world for the encouragement they have given us so far. We shall continue to count on their steadfast support and cooperation.

The work required of the United Nations in the twenty-first century is no less than daunting. Numerous tasks lie ahead of us, such as fostering international peace and security, promoting the common prosperity of the global village, advancing democracy and human rights, eradicating poverty, combating transnational crime, protecting the environment and enhancing human well-being.

Rising to these challenges, world leaders gathered last year at the Millennium Summit to reconfirm their responsibilities and to chart a new course for the international community in the twenty-first century. The Millennium Declaration aims at materializing a

new United Nations that can effectively meet the many challenges faced by the international community.

It should be appreciated in particular that the Declaration sets concrete policy goals to free humanity from fear and poverty. Now the task before all States Members of the United Nations is to muster the best of their wisdom and strength in devising and implementing measures to fulfil the commitments outlined in the Millennium Declaration. The Republic of Korea will actively cooperate with all other Members, so that these commitments may be carried out faithfully.

With the end of the cold war and the passing of the twentieth century, reconciliation and cooperation have come to define the tenor of the evolving global order. However, genuine global peace has yet to be obtained. In many corners of the globe, the threat of terrorism looms large, and conflicts and confrontations caused by ethnic, religious and economic factors still persist. Far worse, the greatest victims are often the most vulnerable groups, such as children, women and ethnic minorities. In this regard, I fully support the efforts of the United Nations to strengthen its capability to prevent and resolve conflicts and to deal with their aftermath. The conflict prevention and peacekeeping function of the United Nations is essential for global peace, and the role of the United Nations in post-conflict peace-building should also be expanded.

Humanity in the twenty-first century is at the mercy of rapid and sweeping changes that are unprecedented in the history of human civilization. At the core of the vortex lie the information technology revolution and globalization. If we fail to meet the challenges posed by these trends, the promises of peace and prosperity in the twenty-first century will not be fulfilled. Member States of the United Nations must gather their collective wisdom and will so that all members of the international community can enjoy the benefits of globalization and the revolutionary advances in information and communication technology.

Against this backdrop, President Kim Dae-jung proposed building a trans-Eurasia information network at the Asia-Europe Summit last year, with a view to galvanizing information exchange and cooperation between Asia and Europe to an unprecedented level. In order to narrow the information gap between nations, international assistance is required, particularly in building the information infrastructures and human resources of developing countries. In this regard, greater cooperation and attention on the part of the developed countries are essential.

Furthermore, the effective management of the global economy and poverty eradication in the underdeveloped countries should be placed high on the agenda of global consultations. The visibility and transparency of global financial markets should be enhanced by reinforcing the functions of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and other international financial organizations.

The next round of World Trade Organization (WTO) talks should be launched as soon as possible in order to strengthen free trade and the multilateral trading system. In this regard, I hope the International Conference on Financing for Development, to be held in March of next year, will succeed in devising a comprehensive plan to deal with issues related to poverty and development. We have to bear in mind the lesson drawn from history that fostering the middle-class through poverty eradication can lay a solid foundation for democracy.

As far as the environment is concerned, international efforts to protect "Mother Nature" should be carried out in a more effective and substantial manner.

In some advanced countries, the development of bio-technology has reached such astonishing levels as to arouse fear of infringing upon the realm of God. While acknowledging the positive role such scientific advancements may have in prolonging human life and improving the quality of life, we need to prevent them from being misused and from becoming an affront to human dignity.

Democracy and human rights are universal values that must continue to be sought and upheld in the twenty-first century. In recent decades, democracy and human rights have claimed many victories around the world, but they have also suffered setbacks. Human rights continue to be abused in many parts of the world in the form of kidnapping and torture, illegal executions, discrimination and other violations. It is particularly distressing that large-scale and systematic violations of human rights persist in some regions of conflict. Such deplorable acts cannot be tolerated. I

sincerely hope that the second conference of the Community of Democracies, to be held in Seoul in October of next year, will prove to be a milestone in this regard.

Humanity places great expectations upon the United Nations to meet the challenges of the twenty-first century and to make the most of the opportunities it brings, because this global body provides a unique forum for all the countries of the world together to seek solutions to common problems in the spirit of mutual respect and cooperation. To rise to the task, the United Nations requires ongoing reform. Its financial and organizational foundations must be strengthened in accordance with its expanding roles. In particular, the reform of the Security Council, given its importance to all Member States, must be achieved through general agreement, with a view to making the Council more representative, democratic and efficient.

The United Nations must stand firmly at the centre of efforts to further spread and consolidate multilateralism around the world, based on the spirit of mutual understanding and compromise. Tolerance and dialogue must be upheld in international relations if we are to make the twenty-first century an era of shared prosperity and peaceful coexistence among diverse civilizations.

The Republic of Korea will strive to contribute to the further development of the United Nations in the spirit of repaying the generosity it has received from the international community. Befitting the country's growing capabilities, the Republic of Korea's contribution to the United Nations budget is to increase significantly in the coming years, in accordance with the new scale of assessments adopted la[illegible] year. Next year, it will become the tenth largest contributor to the regular budget of the United Nations. With its troops now taking part in the Organization's peacekeeping missions in East Timor and three other places, the Republic of Korea will also continue to actively participate in the United Nations endeavours for peace and security.

Furthermore, we will share our experiences in economic de[illegible]elopment and democratization with our neighbours in the global village and do what we can to bridge the gap between the developing and developed countries.

I am convinced that the United Nations, on the strength of the concerted efforts of all countries represented here, will continue to be a beacon of hope, lighting the road ahead for humanity in the twenty-first century.

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister of the Republic of Korea, my own country, for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Lee Han-dong, Prime Minister of the Republic of Korea, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

Agenda item 9 (*continued*)

General debate

Mr. Aguirre Martínez (Paraguay), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The Acting President (*spoke in Spanish*): I call on His Excellency Mr. Louis Michel, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Belgium.

Mr. Michel (Belgium) (*spoke in French*): I have the honour today to speak on behalf of the European Union, which wishes, through you, Sir, to congratulate the President on his election. That election testifies to the esteem of the international community for his person and his country. I commend the speed of action and efficiency that you have shown in the face of the tragic events of 11 September, in adapting the agenda for the work of this Assembly.

I would also like to associate with this tribute the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan. Mr. Secretary-General, your re-election had already drawn attention to the unanimous appreciation of the Member States for your exceptional qualities as a manager, politician and humanist. The Nobel Committee paid an even wider tribute by awarding you the Nobel Peace Prize. The United Nations itself, here at your side, was also a recipient of this message of hope from a world in a state of shock, appealing to the United Nations to remain at the centre of the international community's action for peace and development.

It was the fundamental values constituting the foundation of the United Nations that were attacked in so cowardly a manner right here in New York on 11 September, when our host country, several thousands of its citizens and nationals of over 60 countries were the

victims of a barbaric act of aggression for which no justification can be accepted.

That attack, by its enormity, has opened our eyes to the worldwide threat that terrorism has become. It is our open, democratic, tolerant and multicultural societies that were attacked through the United States. The terrorist threat must be hunted down in each of our countries, in our various regional organizations and, at the world level, through the United Nations.

The European Union has most categorically condemned the 11 September attacks, and the fight against terrorism is now, more than ever before, one of our top objectives. The Union has declared its total solidarity with the United States. It has reaffirmed its unreserved support for the military action undertaken in the name of legitimate self-defence, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations and Security Council resolution 1368 (2001).

On 21 September, an Extraordinary European Council adopted an action plan for an unprecedented campaign against terrorism. This plan contains a number of specific measures intended to enhance judicial and police cooperation, including the introduction of a European arrest warrant. It also includes measures to put an end to the financing of terrorism and to improve air security. The European Council acknowledged that the fight against terrorism requires greater participation by the Union in the efforts of the international community to prevent and stabilize regional conflicts. By developing the Common Foreign and Security Policy and bringing the European Security and Defence Policy into operation as soon as possible, the Union will be at its most effective.

At the global level also, fresh impetus must be provided to the fight against terrorism. Naturally, the United Nations has a central role to play in developing a coordinated and diversified strategy. We warmly welcome the major steps that have already been taken to that end. The most remarkable of these was the adoption of resolution 1373 (2001) by the Security Council on 28 September. The European Union and its member States are already committed to rapid enactment of the measures needed for its implementation. We call upon all countries to cooperate actively with the follow-up system set up by the Security Council, and we reiterate our readiness to provide aid in that connection to any countries that may have technical difficulties in meeting the requirements.

It is also essential that all States ratify without delay the 12 conventions on combating terrorism and apply all of their provisions. The International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism is a decisive aspect of international action and needs to be speedily signed and ratified.

Lastly, the European Union welcomes the recent progress made in negotiating a comprehensive convention on international terrorism, on the basis of a draft submitted by India. The remaining difficulties must now be dealt with as soon as possible so that this instrument can be ready for signing early next year.

The efforts we are making to combat terrorism must also form part of overall efforts to build a better world, a world in which human dignity is sacrosanct, in which human rights and fundamental freedoms are fully respected.

The promotion and protection of human rights and an attachment to the principles of democracy and the rule of law are essential components of the European Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy and of its development, cooperation and external relations. The European Union will actively pursue its work on consolidating human rights and fundamental freedoms, with particular insistence on the universal, indivisible and interdependent nature of all human rights. It will continue to support efforts by the Secretary-General to integrate human rights into United Nations activities at all levels and in all forums, and to cooperate with all United Nations human rights machinery.

The European Union welcomes the imminent establishment of the much-awaited International Criminal Court. The Union sees this as being of paramount importance and urges all States that have not yet done so to accede to the Rome Statute as soon as possible. More than ever before, we need a universal and permanent court capable of sanctioning the most serious violations of international humanitarian law and human rights, thereby contributing to peace and security in the world. It is vital that the United Nations give effective support to the establishment of the Court.

Following the tragedy of 11 September, the special session of the General Assembly on the 10-year

review of the World Summit for Children had to be postponed. However, until it is held, we need to keep up the momentum developed in the preparatory discussions. We must continue to integrate the specific dimension of the child into our actions and strive to ensure that every child's life is free from terror, the horrors of war, abuse and exploitation, hunger and poverty.

The European Union is resolved to continue the fight against all forms of discrimination and violence against women, and to ensure that all countries take strong measures to apply the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. Women must be able to enjoy their human rights in full, on an equal footing with men. Girls must have the same opportunities as boys, particularly in education and access to social services. The European Union insists also that there be equal rights to property, credit facilities and social services, including reproductive health services. It is in the interest of everyone that women be able to participate fully in economic and political life at all levels.

The Union stresses the importance of implementing Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) and the special attention that must be given to the participation and full association of women on an equal footing in all efforts aimed at maintaining and promoting peace and security.

We must also vigorously pursue the crucial fight against racist and discriminatory tendencies and intolerance, which are daily realities throughout the world. The World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance has, I believe, shown us the way forward. It has also enabled us to advance our ways of thinking about the causes and origins of racism and, above all, to view our past in a new way. What matters now is that we find the will to close the darkest chapters of our history so that we can build a new relationship based on mutual respect, solidarity and partnership.

The terrible humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan is gripping the attention of the international community just as much as the political, diplomatic, military and economic aspects of the situation in that country. This is the first time that the international community has adopted such a global approach to an armed conflict. We are convinced that this is the best — if not the only — way to ensure effective resolution of the crisis. The coordination of aid efforts, primarily on the ground and as part of the range of actions undertaken by the United Nations, remains essential.

Emergency humanitarian aid to Afghanistan is an absolute priority for the European Union, which has undertaken to mobilize an aid package of over 320 million euros as soon as possible. The Union expresses its concern about the difficulties of access, as well as of delivering humanitarian assistance, in Afghanistan. It supports the efforts of the United Nations specialized agencies, the International Committee of the Red Cross and all humanitarian organizations in seeking practical and flexible solutions. It also calls on the countries of the region to facilitate, by all possible means, humanitarian operations to deal with new influxes of Afghan refugees.

The European Union recognizes the vital role of the United Nations in the search for a peace plan for Afghanistan. It intends to support the initiatives of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative and to make a constructive contribution, with regard to both the search for an internal political solution and to a plan for rebuilding the country. The Union also stresses the importance of the regional dimension of the stabilization of Afghanistan.

We must make adequate contributions to the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs so as to ensure that it can function efficiently. The European Union attaches particular importance to aid to persons displaced within their countries. We therefore welcome the fact that a unit has been established within the Secretariat to cater to their specific needs. Following the recent attacks against humanitarian aid personnel, the European Union can only call once again for the strengthening of arrangements, particularly those of a legal and financial nature, for guaranteeing the safety and security of humanitarian aid workers and United Nations workers in general.

Now more than ever, disarmament and non-proliferation constitute the cornerstone of any peace and security structure, and must therefore be subject to binding multilateral norms. It is against that background that we wish to strengthen the non-proliferation regime, promote the rapid entry into force of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty and reinforce the biological and toxin weapons Convention. We must also combat the proliferation of ballistic

missiles and the illicit trade in light weapons and continue to work for the complete elimination of anti-personnel mines.

With regard to peacekeeping, the United Nations has shown in the past year that it is better equipped and better organized than it has been in recent times. By way of example, I should like to mention the operations in East Timor, Eritrea and Sierra Leone. Progress has thus already been made on the ground in implementing the recommendations of the Brahimi report. But much remains to be done, and the European Union will continue to provide its active support for improving the capabilities of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and advocating that the Organization be given the resources that it needs to enable it effectively to discharge its increasingly complex responsibilities.

A comprehensive and long-term approach is required in order to resolve differences of opinion, consolidate peace and prevent a resurgence of conflict. The European Union, which is currently establishing its own military and civil crisis-management capability, is actively engaged in strengthening its cooperation with the United Nations and other international organizations in the area of conflict prevention, crisis management, humanitarian aid, post-conflict reconstruction and long-term development.

The Balkans, a region so close to the countries of the European Union, remains at the centre of the Union's external activities. We resolutely maintain our commitment to contribute to building a region of security, prosperity and democracy there, where multi-ethnic societies can be free to flourish. Progress has been remarkable and encouraging, but unfortunately in many cases the situation remains fragile. The international community must remain vigilant and must not let extremists, of whatever kind, use violence to destroy the stabilization work already carried out.

The situation in the Middle East is worsening. The lack of any political perspective naturally encourages continued confrontation and plays into the hands of extremists. Defiance, fear and resentment radicalize people's mindsets. The European Union calls on Israelis and Palestinians, while there is still time, immediately to resume the peace process, without preconditions, on the basis of the Mitchell report. It calls on the Israeli authorities to immediately withdraw their forces from Palestinian-administered areas. It calls on the Palestinian Authority to do its utmost to arrest those responsible for violence against Israel.

It is necessary to preserve what has been achieved so far in the peace process: the principles of the Madrid Conference, in particular the principle of land for peace, as well as Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and the agreements signed by the parties, which have already led to real results on the ground and to progress on the basis of earlier negotiations. The European Union calls on both parties to do their utmost in the political, security, economic and social areas in order to get back to the negotiating table, without preconditions, with the objective of realizing the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of the region, as set out at the Madrid Conference of 1991. For the Palestinians, the establishment of a viable democratic State and an end to the occupation of their territory is essential. The Israelis must have the right to live in peace and security within internationally recognized borders. The European Union also recalls that the search for a comprehensive and lasting peace in the region requires due account to be taken of the Israeli-Syrian and Israeli-Lebanese aspects of the conflict. The same principles should apply in the resolution of those situations.

It is primarily for the parties themselves to try to find peace through negotiating all elements relating to permanent status. This will include finding a viable and just solution to the particularly complex issues of Jerusalem and the refugees, as well as those of the economic support for the Palestinian people.

The European Union, in close cooperation with the United States of America and the other partners involved, reaffirms its willingness to work for a final settlement to the conflict. We believe that it is now a matter of urgency to develop an initiative to strongly urge the parties to resume their political dialogue.

The European Union finds the status quo in Cyprus unacceptable. We express our disappointment at the unjustified decision of the Turkish side to decline the Secretary-General's invitation to pursue talks. We continue to support the Secretary-General's endeavours towards a comprehensive and lasting settlement of the Cyprus question in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolutions.

The scale of the tragedies on the African continent demands resolute action on our part, at all levels, to address the direct structural causes of those

conflicts. Conflicts in Africa have become increasingly complex and their cross-border effects increasingly destructive. The crises in the Great Lakes region of West Africa, in Zimbabwe and in the Horn of Africa require increased vigilance on the part of the Organization. Those crises also show the need for a comprehensive and integrated international approach. We gave an enthusiastic welcome to the launch of the New African Initiative at the Lusaka summit of the Organization of African Unity. The European Union has stated its willingness to respond and has already entered into a dialogue at the highest level with the African Union.

At the Millennium Summit, we pledged together to attain a set of development objectives. That is an ambitious project which involves, inter alia, good governance in each country and at the international level. The Union underlines the need for strengthened partnership between rich countries and poor countries to achieve the development objectives of the Millennium Declaration. That partnership entails obligations and joint but varied efforts on the part of all countries.

First of all, we must make every effort to eradicate poverty. New, concrete commitments were made at the third United Nations Conference on Least Developed Countries, held at Brussels last May. The European Union committed itself to untying aid, to opening up its markets through the "everything but arms" initiative and to the full financing of the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Debt Initiative. It is now a question of finalizing the follow-up mechanisms of the Programme of Action for the Least Developed Countries. The European Union will also continue to give priority to the development of Africa.

Two major international conferences will give us an opportunity to take up the challenges and achieve the principal objectives of the Millennium Declaration. At the International Conference on Financing for Development, to be held next March at Monterrey, Mexico, we shall focus on improving cooperation among all development actors, and on using resources more effectively and better mobilizing them.

At the World Summit on Sustainable Development, to be held at Johannesburg in October 2002, we wish to promote the sustainable use and management and the protection of the natural resources that are the underpinning of economic and social development. We wish also to integrate action on the environment and poverty, to ensure that globalization serves the needs of sustainable development, and to promote better ways of managing public affairs and participation. The European Union would like to explore with its partners the possibility of achieving at the Summit a global pact on sustainable development. Such a pact should contain commitments both from Governments and from other actors. A global pact should lead to concrete action to improve the implementation of sustainable development policies. We hope that United Nations Member States will without delay commit themselves to be represented at Monterrey and at Johannesburg at the highest possible political level.

The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change was one of the major results of the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development. We welcome the progress made at Bonn and at Marrakesh, and we undertake speedily to ratify the Kyoto Protocol.

We have also just reached an intergovernmental consensus at the highest level on the strategy needed to halt the appalling global AIDS pandemic. That was a major step forward, but the urgent and tragic nature of the problem demand greater ambition. We will actively contribute to the creation of the new Global Fund to combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis, and we will play an active role in all the other processes that emerged from last June's special session so that the Declaration of Commitment on HIV/AIDS is put into practice through concrete measures.

Among other challenges, the demographic changes that lie ahead are of particular interest to the European Union. The second World Assembly on Ageing, to be held at Madrid in April 2002, will be an opportunity for us to work together to build a society for all ages.

The Millennium Summit enabled us to tackle, at the highest level, the major challenges facing the world community. We must now turn our attention to the process of following up the Declaration adopted by heads of State or Government with all due regard for the lofty and balanced aims of that cardinal text. For that, we need reliable data and depend on the existing follow-up machinery and processes and on the concerted efforts of the various actors in the

international community who can help us to achieve those objectives.

We must also continue reform of the United Nations system as a whole, including the specialized agencies and the operational funds and programmes. The strengthening of the Security Council and its comprehensive reform in all its aspects should be pursued with determination. If we want a Security Council capable of responding even more effectively to the major challenges of the moment, we must intensify our efforts.

Looking beyond the tremendous and growing complexity of our actions at the international level, our debate should highlight this basic truth: if we want to build a world made more peaceful by respect for the law, solidarity and tolerance, we must strengthen our cohesiveness in the face of the new challenges before us, and also step up our efforts to promote human rights, eradicate poverty and achieve sustainable development.

In this forum of the United Nations, we reply to the messengers of destruction with our common ideal, which will be stronger than hatred and division among mankind. That edifice, whose foundations are set in our spirits and in our hearts, will be unassailable.

The Acting President (*spoke in Spanish*): I call next on His Excellency Mr. Anatoliy M. Zlenko, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

Mr. Zlenko (Ukraine): Allow me at the outset to congratulate the President of the General Assembly at its fifty-sixth session, Mr. Han Seung-soo, on his election to that important and responsible post. On behalf of the Ukrainian delegation, I would like to assure him of our full support and to wish him every success in his work. I take this opportunity also to express our appreciation to his predecessor, Mr. Harri Holkeri, whose political wisdom and diplomatic skill enabled the Assembly to achieve important results at its fifty-fifth session.

A year ago, at the Millennium Summit, we, the representatives of the nations of the world, were seen as heralds of a new age. At that memorable gathering, the United Nations heard words that gave humanity hope for a new and just model of international relations in the new century: freedom, equality, solidarity, tolerance and mutual responsibility. Those fundamental values enshrined in the Millennium Declaration outlined the path that the peoples of the world will follow in the new era.

However, while striving to breathe the fresh air of the future, we instead swallowed a mouthful of ashes and dust. On 11 September the modern world was brutally wounded. The death of innocent people shocked all those who cherish the universal values of life and freedom.

The terrorist acts that took place in the United States demonstrated that the philosophy of hatred, which has no religious, ethnic or linguistic affiliation, has become one of the key challenges of the contemporary world. This threat requires an urgent and clear international reaction.

Ukraine shares the pain of the American people and fully supports the resolve of the United States effectively to stand against the perpetrators, patrons and instigators of those terrorist acts.

We joined the global anti-terrorist coalition without any hesitation because we recognize the need to unite the efforts of the international community to counter new threats.

The military campaign in Afghanistan, which targets the core of international terrorism, is the first stage, and a necessary element, of these efforts. It is also evident, however, that the Afghan people, who live in a state of permanent humanitarian crisis, have become hostages to terrorism. As a result, this crisis cannot be brought to an end without consistent political and diplomatic efforts aimed at finding a solution.

Ukraine welcomes the activities of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Lakhdar Brahimi, and supports their constructive contribution to the stabilization of the situation in Afghanistan.

We are convinced that efforts to further strengthen and improve international legal mechanisms for combating terrorism should also be given a powerful political impetus. In this context, the speedy conclusion of work on the draft comprehensive convention on terrorism takes on special importance.

I am also pleased to mention that the proposal of my country to convene a ministerial meeting of the Security Council to discuss further steps in the global response to international terrorism was unanimously supported by the members of the Council. There is no doubt that, in the course of such a meeting, vital steps

will be taken to identify key means and methods of combating terrorism.

We also maintain that there is a need for proper institutional arrangements to coordinate and complement the individual efforts of Member States in combating international terrorism and to ensure that the legal instruments we have elaborated are implemented in the most efficient manner possible. Any entity of this sort should not become just another bureaucratic body, but, rather, should be an effective mechanism for contributing to the consolidation of international efforts in this area.

To honour the memory of the thousands who have perished in terrorist attacks and to further unite our efforts in fighting the scourge of terrorism, I would like to propose, on behalf of the Government of Ukraine, to declare 11 September a United Nations day to combat international terrorism. I hope that this proposal will be supported by the General Assembly, which would then establish this day as a symbol of our remembrance, unity and resolve.

Ukraine welcomes the decision taken this year by the Norwegian Nobel Committee to award the Peace Prize to the United Nations and to its Secretary-General, Kofi Annan. He is exactly the kind of leader the United Nations needs today as it faces new global challenges.

Are we ready to stand up to these new challenges? Have we fully realized that the deterioration of the situation in the world is due to the existing, deep-rooted international inequality? And, finally, how will the fifty-sixth session of the General Assembly be remembered — as a session that put an end to the age of illusions, or as a forum that consolidated the United Nations family?

The United Nations is entering a new period of its history. Ukraine is deeply convinced that, from a strategic perspective, the strengthening of the status of the United Nations as the core of the modern system of international relations should become the primary task of this Organization.

The terrorist acts in the United States have united and consolidated the international community. Why has it taken the tragic loss of thousands of innocent lives for it to realize that there is a vital need for unity of action on its part?

We believe that the essence of United Nations leadership lies in ensuring an effective response to the new challenges to security at both the global and regional levels. This role, however, cannot be played effectively if we do not improve the existing model of decision-making and implementation at the international level.

That is why my country actively supports the reform of the Security Council. We see this reform not as a weakening of the foundations of the Council's work, but, on the contrary, as a move that will strengthen them, by ensuring that they better reflect the realities of the modern world.

This year, Ukraine is completing its term as a member of the Security Council. I believe that the experience we have gained will contribute to advancing the process of change. We will consistently advocate the need to improve the Security Council's methods of work and to enlarge its membership. As a Central European nation, Ukraine will actively lobby for an additional seat on the Council for this region.

In our view, special attention should also be paid to the philosophy of United Nations peacekeeping activities and to the problem of sanctions. For many years, Ukraine — which today is among the 10 largest troop contributors to United Nations peacekeeping missions — has consistently supported the development of effective United Nations preventive mechanisms.

At the Millennium and Security Council summits last year, the President of Ukraine, Leonid Kuchma, emphasized the need for the elaboration of a United Nations strategy for comprehensive conflict prevention based on the wide use of preventive diplomacy.

I am pleased to note that the recommendations on conflict prevention put forward by Secretary-General Kofi Annan in his June report echo the proposal made by the President of Ukraine. We believe that the United Nations possesses the necessary experience and resources for the enhancement of its role in this field, in particular through the establishment of regional centres to monitor potential areas of conflict, as well as through the more active use of preventive deployment operations.

Concerning the issue of sanctions, we are in favour of the elaboration of a well-balanced methodology for their imposition, implementation and

lifting. This critical lever of influence should not be turned into a political boomerang.

We are also convinced of the overriding need to further consolidate international efforts towards arms control, disarmament and the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. On the basis of a realistic assessment of the potential of the Conference on Facilitating the Entry into Force of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT), we hope that it will result in an increase in the number of parties to this Treaty, which was ratified by Ukraine last year.

I would also like to mention that next month Ukraine will complete the implementation of the third, and last, phase of strategic weapons destruction under the START Treaty. On 30 October, Ukraine destroyed its last intercontinental ballistic missile silo. In that way we turned one of the important pages in the history of nuclear disarmament. We are ready to continue to make our contribution to secure the effectiveness of the system of strategic stability in the world.

Ukraine supports further development by the United Nations of a universal approach to the issues of ensuring sustainable development and eradicating poverty in the world. We hope that the outcome of the International Conference on Financing for Development will be a practical step in mobilizing national and international resources to solve these problems.

We also intend to take practical steps to resolve a set of environmental protection issues. As a country that still suffers the pain of the Chernobyl tragedy, Ukraine counts on the further active involvement of the United Nations Development Programme and other operational bodies of the Organization in the process of eliminating the long-term consequences of this disaster.

Ukraine considers that cultural and spiritual disasters are no less destructive than natural ones. The cultural mosaic of the world is the most precious and delicate treasure granted to humanity. Ukraine has the honour to be one of the sponsors of the General Assembly draft resolution on the proclamation of the year 2002 as the United Nations year for the protection of the world's cultural heritage, and calls on the international community to support this initiative. Vigorous work to protect humanity's historical and cultural heritage is not only a vital necessity, it is also our moral responsibility to past and future generations.

The year 2001 is an anniversary year for our country. On 24 August Ukraine celebrated the first decade of its independence. These have been 10 years of complex processes. The main result has been Ukraine's consolidation as a peaceful and independent European State. We have achieved sustainable economic growth as a result of consistent reforms, and my country is an active participant in European regional processes.

Ukraine is contributing to the settlement of the so-called frozen conflicts, specifically in Abkhazia, Georgia, and Transdniestria, Moldova. As a member of Group of Friends of the Secretary-General for Georgia, Ukraine is concerned over the slow pace of the Georgia-Abkhaz peace process.

Ukraine takes an active stand concerning the settlement of the situation in the Republic of Macedonia. The resolution of the centuries-old Balkan problem is an ambitious and urgent task for Europe in the new century.

We also note with concern the escalation of tensions in the Middle East during the past year. The entire history of the conflict in the Middle East proves that its vicious circle can be broken only through renouncing violence and reviving mutual trust and tolerance between the sides to the conflict.

The United Nations is beginning a new and complicated period of its activities. It is up to us to determine how the Untied Nations comes out of its encounter with the new challenges, united or divided. I believe that the wisdom of this forum, which has been nurtured through decades of hard and responsible work, should serve to guarantee an optimistic scenario.

The meeting rose at 1.50 p.m.

United Nations A/56/PV.45

General Assembly
Fifty-sixth session

Official Records

45th plenary meeting
Saturday, 10 November 2001, 3 p.m.
New York

President: Mr. Han Seung-soo ..... (Republic of Korea)

The meeting was called to order at 3 p.m.

Address by General Pervez Musharraf, President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan

The President: The Assembly will now hear an address by the President and Chief Executive of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

General Pervez Musharraf, President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency General Pervez Musharraf, President and Chief Executive of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President Musharraf (Pakistan): I would like to extend to you, Mr. President, my felicitations on your election. I also wish to congratulate your predecessor, Mr. Harri Holkeri, for his stewardship of the millennium session of the General Assembly. Deep appreciation is also due to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, for his untiring efforts to translate the vision of the Millennium Declaration into policies and actions by the world community.

Mr. Secretary-General, please also accept my heartiest congratulations on the award of the centenary Nobel Peace Prize conferred upon you and your Organization, and on your election for a second term to your prestigious office.

Last year, at the Millennium Summit, all of us were looking forward to a renaissance in the new millennium — a renaissance in the hearts and minds of people, for a better world where peace and justice would prevail. Unfortunately, today we gather against the sombre backdrop of the terrorist outrage that the world witnessed in shock and horror on that fateful day of 11 September. In seconds, images of fire and death reached all of us around the globe. Thousands of innocent lives were lost in minutes. Eighty or more nations lost some of their brightest and their best. Pakistan, like the rest of the world, mourned the colossal loss of innocent lives. The map of the world changed, and the entire globe descended into a deep crisis. At a time of such great turmoil, when there is a need for clear thought and firm action, I come from Pakistan with a message of determination and resolve as well as a message of peace for all peoples.

The General Assembly meets this year under the shadow of a horrendous act of terror perpetrated against the people of the United States — an act for which no grievance or cause can ever be a justification, an act that must be condemned unambiguously and in the strongest words. This was an attack on humanity itself and we all must therefore unite to fight this scourge. Pakistan has followed words with actions.

Now that the world has committed itself to fight against terrorism, it is time for introspection. In this dark hour, we owe it to posterity to shed light on some dangerous and growing trends, misconceptions and misperceptions which, if not countered, may lead the world into even greater disorder and disharmony.

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Muslims in various parts of the world, and the religion of Islam itself, are being held responsible for the trials the world is facing. This point of view is totally misplaced. Just as all religions teach peace and love for fellow beings, so Islam places upon its adherents the obligation to do good, to be generous, merciful, kind and just to all fellow beings. The Muslim greeting "Assalam alaikum", meaning "Peace be with you", symbolizes the very essence of the Islamic faith. Islam is a religion of peace, compassion and tolerance.

Terrorism is not a Christian, Buddhist, Jewish or Muslim belief. It is to be condemned no matter who the perpetrator, be it an individual, a group or a state.

We need to ask ourselves what really causes these extreme acts around the world. To my mind, it is unresolved political disputes: disputes in Bosnia, Kosovo, Palestine, Kashmir and other places. Unfortunately, all these disputes involve Muslims and, what is more sad, Muslims happen to be the victims in all of them. This fact tends to give a religious tinge to these otherwise political disputes. The lack of progress in resolving them has created in Muslims a sense of deprivation, hopelessness and powerlessness.

The frustration grows even worse when disputes like those relating to Kashmir and Palestine, which have been the subject of Security Council resolutions, remain unsettled. The question then becomes, are the people asking for their rights in accordance with United Nations resolutions to be called terrorists, or are the countries refusing to implement United Nations resolutions perpetrators of State terrorism? In Kashmir, Indian occupation forces have killed over 75,000 Kashmiris, attributing these killings to foreign terrorists. It is time that India stopped such deceit. United Nations Security Council resolutions on Kashmir must be implemented.

Media images of the Palestinian child, Mohammed Al-Durra, were etched into the hearts and minds of people all over the world. It is perverse to regard the rape of Kashmiri women as a punishment inflicted in the course of war. The images of those moments when the World Trade Centre towers came down will remain definitive for all the agony, disbelief and loss that people suffer from acts of terror all over the world. All forms of terror must be condemned, prevented and fought against, but in condemning them the world must not trample upon the genuine rights, aspirations and urges of the people who are fighting for their liberation and are subjected to State terrorism.

To fight the extremist, deprive him of his motivation. The extremist survives in an environment where millions suffer injustice and indignity. Deprive him of his support by giving all the peoples of the world peace, security, justice and dignity, regardless of faith, religion or creed.

A just and honourable solution for the people of Kashmir and an end to the miseries of the people of Palestine are the major burning issues that have to be addressed vigorously, boldly, imaginatively and urgently. We must get to the root causes; cosmetic solutions will only make matters worse. Consider the analogy of a tree: terrorists are like so many leaves — take out some, and there will be plenty more, an unending growth. Terrorist networks are branches: prune a few, and there will be others, and further growth. The only way to do deal with them is to go for the roots. Eliminate the roots, and there will be no tree. The roots are the causes, which need to be addressed, tackled and eliminated, fairly, justly and honourably, so as to give people back their dignity, self-respect and honour.

In essence, therefore, to tackle the issue of terrorism in its entirety, we need to follow a three-pronged strategy of going for individual terrorists; moving against terrorist organizations; and addressing disputes throughout the world in a just manner.

After the events of 11 September, Pakistan took a deliberate, principled decision to join the world coalition in its fight against terrorism. This decision has catapulted us, once again, into the position of being a front-line State in the battle against terrorism. While the people of Pakistan have accepted this new reality, they still suffer from a sense of betrayal and abandonment as a result of being left in the lurch in 1989 after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. Then, too, we were a front-line State — and what we got in return was 3 million refugees, a shattered economy, drugs and a Kalashnikov culture, to be dealt with single-handedly and through our own limited resources. Pakistan only hopes that the mistakes of the past will not be repeated and that Pakistan's legitimate concerns will be addressed. Our economy again faces a crisis from the fallout from the operations in Afghanistan. We need financial and commercial

support on an urgent basis, and hope that this will be forthcoming.

After the events of 11 September, and after Osama bin Laden and Al Qaeda became an international issue, Pakistan tried its utmost, up to the last moment, to work with the Afghan Government so as to avert military action in Afghanistan. Regrettably, we did not meet with success, and the coalition operation against terrorists in Afghanistan continues, with no immediate end in sight. Sadly, the civilian casualties resulting from this action are increasingly depicted as an open war against the already poor, suffering and innocent people of Afghanistan. The world in general, and Pakistan in particular, mourn the loss of these innocent lives, and sympathize with the bereaved. It is desirable that the military operation be as short and as accurately targeted as possible. It is also essential that a fall-back political strategy be evolved which could attain the same objectives as those being sought through military application.

In its entirety, dealing with Afghanistan involves a three-pronged strategy to address military, political and humanitarian-cum-rehabilitation issues. It must remain the effort of the coalition, after achieving its military objectives, to prevent a vacuum leading to anarchy, through the immediate application of joint political and rehabilitation strategies.

In our view, the political set-up in Afghanistan must be home-grown and not imposed — and I say that having knowledge of the Afghan psyche. We must ensure the unity and territorial integrity of Afghanistan, within a broad-based, multi-ethnic dispensation, representative of the demographic composition of the country.

The people of Afghanistan have been suffering the ravages and devastation of conflict for over two decades. It is the moral obligation of the world community to support them generously. Assistance to Afghanistan should be in two forms: first, ongoing humanitarian assistance; and secondly, post-military operations, rehabilitation and reconstruction.

To offset the ill-effects of the ongoing military operation, it is imperative that we launch a more coordinated and concerted humanitarian relief effort inside and outside Afghanistan, with more generous funding. This will go a long way to alleviating the sufferings of the common Afghan.

It is equally important that we, concurrently, formulate a post-operation rehabilitation programme for when peace returns to Afghanistan. This effort would entail, at the minimum, the restoration of water-management systems; the revival of agriculture through land development; the reconstruction of the physical infrastructure — roads, buildings and utilities; and the establishment of institutions.

A stable and peaceful Afghanistan is in the vital interests of the region and, in particular, of Pakistan. Conditions must be created for the more than 3 million refugees in Pakistan to return to their country. We propose the establishment of an "Afghan trust fund", under United Nations auspices, for the rehabilitation and reconstruction effort.

I would now like to focus on the harsh realities in the developing countries, which have a relationship with extremism of all kinds. Poverty and deprivation lead to frustration, making the masses vulnerable to exploitation by extremist organizations. It is the collective moral responsibility of the developed world to address this issue squarely, through substantive economic uplift, poverty alleviation and social action programmes in the developing countries. Economic imbalances have to be removed in order to achieve a just, equitable and harmonious world order. A major step in this direction would be to reduce, if not eliminate, the debt burden, which hangs like a millstone around the necks of the poor and the underdeveloped.

The bigger tragedy of the third world is that their rulers, together with their minions, plunder their countries' wealth and are afforded easy access to safe havens to stash away the loot in the first world. Restrictions have long been imposed on the laundering of drug money, and the money supply for terrorists is being choked off. Why can similar restrictions not be imposed on the money-laundering of loot?

I appeal, through this forum, to all of the developed countries to legislate against deposits of ill-gotten money, to assist in investigating the looters and to ensure the early return of the plundered wealth to its countries of origin. In fact, I would not be far off the mark if I were to state that, with the return of this looted money, many of the developing countries might be able to pay back their debts and revive their economies.

Pakistan is deeply conscious of the nuclear dimension of the security environment of our region, the danger it poses and the responsibility it places on nuclear-weapon States, particularly the two nuclear States in South Asia. We are ready to discuss how Pakistan and India can create a stable South Asian security mechanism through the peaceful resolution of disputes, the preservation of the nuclear and conventional balance, confidence-building measures and the non-use of force, as prescribed by the United Nations Charter. In this context, we are ready to discuss nuclear and missile restraints, as well as nuclear risk-reduction measures, with India, in a structured, comprehensive and integrated dialogue.

Pakistan is fully aware of the responsibilities of its nuclear status. We have declared a unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing. Pakistan was not the first to initiate nuclear tests and will not be the first to resume them. We are ready to formalize a bilateral treaty with India for a mutual test ban. We have strengthened our export controls and have established multi-layered custodial controls on all our nuclear assets. Let me assure the Assembly that our strategic assets are very well guarded and in very safe hands. We are constantly upgrading our command and control measures, and we have instituted an elaborate nuclear command and control mechanism for ironclad custodial controls to ensure the safety and security of all our assets. Pakistan is opposed to an arms race in South Asia, be it nuclear or conventional. We will maintain deterrence at the minimum level. We want to live in the region with honour and with dignity.

I would now like to very briefly cover internal developments in Pakistan. Over the past two years, the focus has been on economic revival, poverty alleviation, the improvement of governance in Pakistan, political restructuring and the introduction of genuine democracy in the country. We have successfully put in place a sound democratic structure that is based on empowerment of the people at the grassroots level. A revolutionary step has been taken through the provision of one third of the seats to women on the district-level governing councils.

I want to put on record at this gathering that Pakistan is proud of this representation and empowerment of women, which is a unique feature in the world. Our resolve to hold elections to the Provincial and National Assemblies and to the Senate in October 2002, in accordance with the road map I announced last August, will remain unchanged in spite of the prevailing environment in the region.

In conclusion, and in view of the fact that we are going through a time of enormous trials and tribulations, I wish to make an appeal — an appeal for the sake of mankind, for the sake of our future generations and for the sake of a better world.

Let justice prevail; let no people be wronged; let suffering be eliminated; let discontent be addressed; let humanity rise as one nation to eliminate subjugation of the weak; and let there be peace.

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President and Chief Executive of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan for the statement he has just made.

General Pervez Musharraf, President and Chief Executive of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

Address by Mr. Andrés Pastrana Arango, President of the Republic of Colombia

The President: The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Republic of Colombia.

Mr. Andrés Pastrana Arango, President of the Republic of Colombia, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. Andrés Pastrana Arango, President of the Republic of Colombia, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President Pastrana Arango (*spoke in Spanish*): Allow me, on behalf of the Government of Colombia, to express our satisfaction at your assumption of the presidency of this session of the General Assembly. Your experience and leadership are valuable credentials for bringing our deliberations to a fruitful result. I wish also to pay tribute to your predecessor, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Finland, His Excellency Mr. Harri Holkeri, whose diplomatic skills contributed decisively to the Assembly's work.

I want, further, to speak of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, whose authority, dedication and meaningful contribution will serve as inspiration for the decisions that Member States must take at this session.

Let me take this opportunity to reiterate our satisfaction at the honour accorded to the United Nations and to the Secretary-General through the award of the Nobel Peace Prize. That was a well-deserved tribute to our Organization, to the values shared by its Member States, and, in particular, to the Secretary General, whose personal commitment and visionary approach have given new life to the United Nations and have helped to consolidate its international credibility. That decision was more than an acknowledgement of past achievements; it provided encouragement that inspires the work of the United Nations in the light of the challenges of the new millennium.

Two months ago the entire world was shaken by a series of unprecedented terrorist acts. We have all spoken of the dreadful effects of these attacks. We have all expressed our solidarity to the people of the United States. And we all agree that those irrational acts not only affected one single country but were in fact an attack against all mankind. But we must go even further; we must understand why such events occurred and what we must do to ensure that similar acts never happen again – never again.

The tragedy of 11 September had the positive effect of uniting us all against a common enemy: terrorism. And it did something else: it removed the dissembling from our words; it stripped the hypocrisy from our discourse; it moved us out of the world of grey tones to which we were so accustomed. Now we must work to replace it with a black-and-white world that is free of ambiguity.

And what were those greys that are so evident today? They were the ambiguities we all expressed in respect of violence and the money that finances it. In the past, when an act against civilians anywhere in the world suited our interests, we would speak of a humanitarian crisis, of defending democracy, of reasons of State. And we continued on impassively, with a clear conscience. But when an act against civilians anywhere did not suit our interests, we would take a firm stand, we would react with indignation and we would speak of terrorism, of attacks against mankind, of treacherous attacks against democracy and human rights.

Let there be no more ambiguity or equivocation. The time has come to define our position, with no vague half answers: either we side with mankind, its dignity and its integrity, or we do not.

Whenever human dignity or civilians are attacked, that is an act of terrorism. It does not matter whether it is perpetrated by a group of religious fanatics or by an organization claiming to have political ideals. There is no pretext for attacking defenceless civilians. The dividing line is very clear: either we respect human life and dignity or we stand against humankind.

The horrendous acts of 11 September do not represent a collision of civilizations, religions or cultures. The only collision is between a violent fanatical minority on the one hand, and all forms of civilization on the other. We cannot accept any further attempts to justify violence. No matter how much it costs us — even if it goes against our present interests — there is something far more valuable than anything else in the world: human life and human dignity.

Today, we must all stand together and unreservedly condemn all acts of violence against any human being, regardless of the pretext. If we do not cast our lot in favour of mankind and human values, what will be left for us? What right will we have to call ourselves the leaders of a civilization gone adrift?

I address the Assembly today with the overwhelming responsibility and authority vested in me as President of a country, Colombia, that for decades has endured an internal conflict where every new day brings more deaths and kidnappings because of the intransigence of illegal groups seeking to impose themselves at the cost of the lives of their compatriots.

And I address the Assembly today representing a country, Colombia, that has been the main victim of worldwide drug addiction, a country that has suffered too many deaths, that has sacrificed natural and financial resources to combat a crime that is not its own. It is a global crime whose vast illegal proceeds remain outside our borders.

In those two capacities, I address the international community, represented in the General Assembly, to demand, head held high, that we move from rhetoric to action. The world is distressed by this ominous terrorism. I say candidly that we ourselves have also suffered from such terrorism for quite some time. But

we have not always felt the pulse of the international community beating firmly by our side.

We all know that the world market for illegal drugs is the number-one source of financing for worldwide terrorism and death. Yet the international community has been content simply to suggest or demand that production centres control drug trafficking through law enforcement and through eradication and interdiction action, forgetting that this scourge is much more than just a problem of cultivation and trafficking. It is a global problem with global ramifications.

Colombia has always said, and my Government has repeated again and again in every possible international forum, that it is necessary to control illegal drug production, but that we cannot forget that this is a very complex transnational business and that the vast proceeds of narcotics trafficking do not stay in our country. No, indeed: those profits move freely through international financial markets where seemingly respectable financiers and businessmen prosper, enjoying the tolerance of the entire world.

We must also learn from our misfortunes — especially from our misfortunes — and we have learned something from the events of 11 September. We have learned that lax control of financial institutions and the existence of tax and banking havens are like giving criminals a letter of marque to make and multiply their profits, to amass the fortunes that finance death.

The shared responsibility that my country demands in the fight against illegal drugs must also be applied to the fight against terrorism. This new international conviction that we have all been late in implementing — perhaps because we are still numbed by the so-called post-cold-war era — must be translated into acts that go beyond rhetoric. There must be no more coexisting with money laundering, even if it means going after the major financial conglomerates of the world.

There must be no more uncontrolled production and sale of the chemical precursors used in illicit drug production.

There must be no more illegal or uncontrolled manufacturing and sale of the weapons that propagate death.

Only if we, beginning with the developed countries, translate those principles into reality, with concrete action and with political will, will we give meaning and effectiveness to the fight that my country, Colombia, has been waging for many years against the cultivation and production of drugs.

No country is free from the destructive consequences of illegal drugs. There are no epicentres in this illegal business. This criminal activity is global in nature. The drug problem, and organized crime in general, undermine the institutional framework, conspire against democracy, compromise governance and sow death and violence. They are a hothouse of corruption; they erode judicial systems and they thwart the rule of law. Shared responsibility, therefore, means the responsibility to defend democracy, our principles and institutions.

The year 2003 will mark five years since the twentieth special session of the General Assembly, the so-called world drug summit. We should now begin to promote an in-depth review of all the accomplishments, the obstacles encountered along the way, the new challenges to be faced and the additional action we must take to break, once and for all, the links that support this global phenomenon.

But we must do so without losing ourselves in grey tones. The commitment of the international community must be real and concrete so that we can at last attack the finances of the traffickers of death. Let us combat the business in which they make all their profits.

Fortunately, the Security Council has taken important decisions in this regard, moving the fight against crime in the right direction. Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) and the measures being taken by all the Governments of the world to combat the financing of international terrorism are an essential step forward that Colombia supports without hesitation.

We must work together to dismantle the structure of the extremists' financial support. That is the only way to create a safer world for our children. It is the only way to defeat the plague of violence and terrorism at its roots: the transnational empires of drugs.

A year ago, we gathered in this same Hall on the occasion of the Millennium Summit. None of the priorities identified at that time was stressed as much as the need to ensure that globalization benefits all the peoples of the world. The reality of globalization is one of inequality; it has led to dissatisfaction and conflict.

We need, through deep reflection, to become aware of our responsibility for humanizing globalization and ensuring that it reflects the interests of all countries and regions.

The Conference on Financing for Development to be held early next year in Mexico is particularly important in this light. Unless we mobilize the necessary financial resources and move towards a new architecture ensuring a stable international financial system, the commitments and the course set out at the Millennium Summit will be a dead letter.

Those same criteria must guide next year's World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg. On that occasion, we must consolidate a positive vision and devise a road map for achieving real harmony between economic growth, social development and the preservation of the environment.

This is the last time I will address the General Assembly as President of Colombia. Each year since 1998, I have spoken before the Assembly about the commitment of my Government and of the people of Colombia to achieving peace, democracy and progress in social justice.

More than any other leader of my country I have fully devoted myself to achieving peace. I do not regret having done that, because we Colombians are tired of violence, intimidation, crime and kidnappings. I hope that all groups living outside the law will make the right choice at this crucial juncture, not only in the history of Colombia but also in the history of all humankind. It is up to them to decide how they want to be treated: as terrorists and drug-traffickers or as political insurgents. They must define themselves through their actions. If their actions lead them to be treated as mere terrorists, then they must clearly understand — and I say this vehemently to the world — that Colombia and the international community will honour their commitments and carry out the measures adopted by the Security Council to combat terrorism.

History goes on; it does not stop. Leaders come and go, but peoples continue along the path laid out before them. Even today, I believe that peace is possible if the will to make peace exists. I still believe, with the firm hope of someone who knows the values of his people, that the road we started on will not be barren.

During my mandate, the international community has shown an unprecedented solidarity with the people of Colombia and its quest for peace. I am grateful for that from the bottom of my heart.

I must give special recognition to the Secretary General's Special Adviser on International Assistance to Colombia, Jan Egeland, for his assistance, and to the generous contribution of friendly nations during the talks with insurgent groups. The world has sided with peace in Colombia, and that is a gesture we understand and appreciate in its full worth.

Today I echo the strong and determined voice of 40 million Colombians, who are all fighting for a better and more dignified life, and I reaffirm before the world a message to the international community that proposes and demands clarity.

The time for lamenting is over. It is time for definitions.

Let us put aside the empty speeches. Let us leave behind the moral double standards that measure acts that suit us with one yardstick and the acts that do not with another. Let us advance, united together, against all forms of terrorism, whatever their rationales.

No more ambiguity. No more justifications of violence. Let us never forget that there is nothing more sacred, more valuable or worthier than human life.

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Colombia for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Andrés Pastrana Arango, President of the Republic of Colombia, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

Address by Mr. Alejandro Toledo Manrique, President of the Republic of Peru

The President: The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Republic of Peru.

Mr. Alejandro Toledo Manrique, President of the Republic of Peru, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. Alejandro Toledo Manrique, President of the Republic of Peru, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President Toledo Manrique (spoke in Spanish): This is the first time I have had the privilege of addressing this prestigious world forum. To arrive here, I travelled a long road. I was born in a small village high in the Andes, at an altitude of nearly 4,000 metres above sea level. Like millions of brothers from our continent of Latin America, I know first-hand the hard face of poverty.

To survive, in my childhood, I sold newspapers, lottery tickets and shined the shoes in which others walked.

Today, I have come before this world assembly as the constitutional President of Peru, bringing the stories, the hopes and the dreams of millions of Peruvians.

I come from a country that is heir to an ancient culture and the cradle of great civilizations. I come to lead our present with responsibility and to construct our future with vision. Thus, in these few brief minutes, I would like to share with the Assembly three subjects that are of the greatest concern to my Government:

First of all, I would like to be clear about one thing: we are engaged in a head-on struggle against terrorism and its perverse alliance with drug trafficking and corruption. These are scourges for which there can be no room for ambiguity. With the same determination, however, I need to point out that the world is facing the enormous challenge of mustering the necessary clear vision so as not to put off the human development agenda, which in large measure is the underlying principle of the United Nations.

Secondly, there is the need to reduce military expenditures in Latin America and in the world, so that these resources can be channelled instead into a direct fight against poverty.

Thirdly, we need to think and act together in dealing with the world economic situation to protect employment opportunities and income for the poorest. There can be no real democracy without sustained economic growth that will generate decent jobs.

Barely a year ago, Peru was enmeshed in a dramatic struggle between a corrupt dictatorship and the hopes for democracy of the vast majority of the Peruvian people. Faced with this situation, we Peruvians stood up and proved capable of mobilizing ourselves and peacefully struggling to regain our democracy and our freedom. On behalf of millions of men and women of my country, I would like to thank the peoples and Governments of the world for their friendship, active role and solidarity in helping us regain our democracy.

Today, Peru has now begun a new democratic dawn. We are aware, however, that we have great responsibilities. We must strengthen a full-fledged democracy and our still fragile institutions and reactivate our economy so as to achieve sustainable growth that will generate decent and productive jobs. We must strengthen our institutions and defeat poverty, which form an indissoluble part of the same goal, because poverty, corruption and drug trafficking conspire against democracy. We can now declare, here before the international community, that the time has come to give a human face to globalization, so that competitiveness becomes permanent.

We Peruvians have freshly inscribed in our collective memory a horror of terrorism. During the 20 years of terror, Peru has lost 25,000 human lives, which has cost more than $30 billion and has left the poor even poorer. That is why I reaffirm our deep solidarity with the people and Government of the United States in the face of the insanity of terror of 11 September. This was not an attack against the United States alone. It was an attack against the peoples that believe in peace and democracy, for all our differences of opinion.

We are determined to take unambiguous actions to fight terrorism. We shall do so in the spirit of respect for religious freedoms and ethnic identity. We will actively contribute to the work that has been entrusted to the ad hoc Committee of the Security Council, making available to it the experts that may be necessary to intelligently fight the threat of international terrorism within the framework of the principles of the Charter and the decisions of the Security Council.

At an inter-American multilateral forum, we made an effective contribution. This week we introduced before the Organization of American States a draft convention against terrorism. In keeping with this purpose, this morning we deposited at the Secretary-General's office the following instruments: the Statute of the International Criminal Court; the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings; and the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism.

Thus, my country has become a party to all international treaties against terrorism.

Our States must build up an extensive network of obligations to effectively cooperate in the judicial, police, information and financial fields to facilitate the capture and extradition of the perpetrators of crimes against humanity or of acts of corruption that lead to such crimes. Human rights violations and corruption are two sides of the same coin. They spell impunity.

It would not be possible to face up to corruption without linking it with the fight against drug trafficking and money laundering. We are working hard in this regard. We have established high-level authorities directly under the head of State to wage the fight against drug trafficking and corruption.

I know that this is a decision that impinges upon powerful interests. We shall not be swayed from our determination. Peru is now seeking to re-establish democracy to the fullest. We are aware, however, that there are powerful forces hidden in the shadows, which, with certain political accomplices, are trying to achieve impunity for the corruption committed during the decade of Montesinos and Fujimori. That is why, addressing you from this prestigious forum, I call on the international community not to allow, as the globalization of justice process, for capricious interpretation of certain national laws that trivialize actions or allow for the granting of impunity.

There is no justification for a democratic government to sacrifice development of the poor for the sake of an arms race. Therefore, the second issue central to our foreign policy is our proposal, which we put to the Heads of State and Government of Latin America, for an immediate freeze on the purchase of offensive weapons in the region. We also seek an agreement among the countries of Latin America to reduce their military expenditures and to reorient their financial resources towards investment in nutrition, health and education.

Peru has recently achieved important agreements on this issue with the brotherly countries of Chile and Ecuador and is promoting an understanding among the other countries of our region that will allow us to embark together on the path towards the reduction of poverty there. Peace is not only the silence of guns; it should also mean dignity for the poor. This proposal is aimed at the adoption of a broad regional framework to reduce military spending. However, might we not also consider expanding this proposal, which is not a new one, to other regions around the globe? We must invest in the great enterprise of knowledge — in the minds of our people. That means investing more, and more wisely, in nutrition, health and education.

The third item relates to our concern about the global economy. We regret the onset of recession in the most important developed economies, which is shrinking markets, eliminating jobs and thus hindering the implementation of the measures set out in the Millennium Declaration. There is an urgent need to control the damage being done to the poor economies by the current global economic crisis. It is therefore important that the next round of the World Trade Organization not be an aseptic commercial round. It should be a round on behalf of the poorest, avoiding protectionist policies for the agricultural sector of the industrialized countries and allowing the textile industry to create good jobs in our countries.

I call on the people of the world to embark unflinchingly and without fear on the path towards a future of peace and democracy, without terrorism, without violations of human rights and without impunity. I am convinced that, together, we can build a globalized, competitive yet united world with a human face. In that respect, Peru assumes its responsibility today before the General Assembly.

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Peru for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Alejandro Toledo Manrique, President of the Republic of Peru, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

Address by Mr. Milan Kučan, President of the Republic of Slovenia

The President: The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Republic of Slovenia.

Mr. Milan Kučan, President of the Republic of Slovenia, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome His Excellency, Mr. Milan Kučan, President of the Republic of Slovenia, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President Kučan (*spoke in Slovenian; interpretation provided by the delegation*): All our admiration goes to the United States for making possible the normal work of the United Nations and the sessions of the General Assembly despite the recent tragic events and all their global consequences. The tragic crime, which affected the whole world, has brutally confronted us with new, very serious and long-term issues. This year's general debate is thus an opportunity and a new and great responsibility for us all — a responsibility that must be accepted. Words of condemnation and solidarity cannot be enough.

As we sympathize profoundly with the American people, we must also tell the world in one voice that we shall be deliberately and effectively allied in the future, too, and that we will cooperate in the fight against terrorism and in the eradication of the roots of that evil. We will responsibly consider joint measures for a world of more peace, greater freedom, solidarity and security and more social justice for every person and every nation, as well as ever less room for violence. The idea of such a world requires us to avoid the vortex of evil by undertaking a considered and resolute response to the terrorist crime that was committed. The immediate decisive military reaction of the United States of America and other countries of the anti-terrorist alliance was imperative.

We cannot simply rest at that, however. The vortex of violence could threaten the democratic values that humanity has set over its long development as the measure of life in human society. That is why we are ultimately obliged to avoid dividing cultures along the principle of "us versus them", dividing races, religions and nations into the categories of civilized and barbaric, and ascribing a priori fundamentalism to any religion or civilization. The United Nations has proclaimed this year the Year of Dialogue Among Civilizations. We should seize this opportunity.

The contemporary world is diverse, but all modern civilizations, cultures and major religions respect human dignity and human life. Killing is an aberration anywhere in the world. Sadly, human and social pathology have made killing a lucrative business and given international terrorism its own internal dynamic. The instigators and perpetrators of these despicable acts must be brought to justice, while it is the responsibility of politics to remove the social and political roots of this evil. It is the universal values of all contemporary civilizations, such as the sanctity of life and respect for human dignity, that enable the creation of a global democracy based on a global ethos.

Resolute action and attention must focus on those groups and individuals throughout the world who brutally violate these principles and bring chaos, murder and madness into our human world. Sadly, there are enough such people in all cultures and civilizations in all parts of the human world, including the Christian world. They warn us that the global world requires a different perception of the world and its dilemmas, especially of the unequal distribution of poverty and wealth, and that it raises questions to which there are as yet no answers.

At the Millennium Summit last year, we came very close to a realistic analysis of some of the major economic, financial, social, cultural, political and ecological effects of the global economy. We have come closer to the important understanding that a global world also requires global responsibility, and that starts with the responsibility of each State.

States cannot arbitrarily do things that are in complete conflict with the values of the democratic world. In particular, cannot systematically violate basic human rights and freedoms through State violence, nor can they allow and encourage activities that threaten the security of other countries and of the international community, all in the name of their own sovereignty, even within their own boundaries. Neither can they ignore such activity by others and shut themselves behind their own borders.

Last year's position on humanitarian intervention was the first step in this direction, yet, unfortunately, not a sufficient one. The escalation of internationally syndicated and organized terrorism demands that further steps be taken. We cannot allow terrorism and crime to abuse the opportunities offered by our globalized world before the democratic world itself is even in a position to put these opportunities to good use in finding answers to completely new challenges.

I see these challenges in pronounced divisions with global implications — divisions into owners of capital, knowledge, ideas and information technologies, on the one hand, and the billions condemned to ignorance, a life of poverty and vegetating without prospects at the margins of society, on the other hand, in the ever greater financial weakness of many nation-States and whole continents that are left without development potentials or

prospects. In its relentless growth in power and authority, global capital has long since gone beyond State borders. However, it assumes no responsibility for people's social position and prospects for freedom and democracy, for development and the future, for people's security. This responsibility is left to State administrations.

I also see challenges in all kinds of fundamentalism, even in the perverted understanding of competitiveness which leads to production and services with an ever-shrinking labour force, without caring about people and nature, about life on the planet and its future in an economy whose only motive and aim is profit.

I see them also in the very pragmatically oriented national and international politics operating in a framework of dramatic simplicity and simplification, and so their euphoric haste does not match their effect. These are politics that ignore the dimension of time and the duration of phenomena, such as the ecological effects of genetic or biomedical interventions that are not apparent immediately, but perhaps only in decades, only with the coming generations.

I see challenges in the neglect of a comprehensive and interconnected perspective on phenomena and processes and in the disregard for the way in which they are interconnected. All modern political, social and ecological dramas and conflicts, as well as the global socio-pathological cancers, are a result of the interaction of a range of social forces and elements. These phenomena — including international terrorism — which are like epidemics, cannot be confined within the borders of one or more States. This applies to a host of phenomena, not just terrorism, but also ecology, food, genetics, finance, the information society and violence.

I also see challenges in the lack of communication between the authorities and increasingly global civil movements. Protests from Seattle to Genoa are a powerful warning of the danger of a division into two worlds that are beginning to communicate solely through protests and violence.

The world today is clearly different from what it was before. It could be better, but only with an awareness of and mechanisms for assuming global responsibility. This will enable the search for a dynamic balance leaving no room for the chaos that uncontrolled developments and acts of terror lead to. In order to achieve this, we will have to change many things.

Therefore, adapting the United Nations to these new circumstances is, in a way, a call of distress. It will not be a simple task. All 189 Members and their representatives are bound primarily to the sovereignty of their own States. However, the world clearly also needs global governance. More than ever, we need the United Nations as a global entity common to all States, an entity that will be able, with the full authority that rests on the global responsibility of States, to take measures to the benefit of dynamic development, a development of balanced forces and effects of the global economy and globalization in general. Otherwise, we will have to state the alternative.

We must accept the recognition that every society, including the global one, must subordinate itself to specific rules, or else it will be subjected to the rule of crude force. Our difficulty is that we have overlooked that the world has become a single society full of internal contrasts, which in real life, especially in international relations, recognizes and respects few rules. What we urgently need is the common political will to provide legitimacy to a universal system of institutions and bodies, to which together we have entrusted the power to prescribe common rules.

We need common political will to subject ourselves to these rules and to respect them. The actual power to prescribe rules would not be only in the hands of States. Could this also be the United Nations? What reforms are needed to achieve this, in order for the United Nations to become this? We cannot wait with the answers.

I am also speaking from the experience of Slovenia, which I represent. In gaining independence 10 years ago, we experienced brief but serious violence on our own territory. In our immediate vicinity, South-Eastern Europe, we were faced with one of the most barbaric policies since the Second World War, a policy responsible for genocide and other forms of widespread violence. With independence, Slovenia stepped into a world that is prepared to behave better than the self-enclosed world that the former Yugoslavia had become in the final years of its life, when the equality of rights of people and nations was violated and when hope for a different future was denied. We have stepped onto the path of freedom, and Slovenia has accepted its own share of the responsibility for our global world.

I believe that this global world will tend toward a dynamic balance, provided that States — large and small, rich and poor, technologically developed and marginalized — will together seek new solutions. The venue can only be a fundamentally reformed United Nations. It is within such a United Nations that both a durable coalition against terrorism and a durable coalition of common responsibility of all countries for a world with more solidarity and social justice for all humanity and all its parts can be achieved.

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Slovenia for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Milan Kučan, President of the Republic of Slovenia, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

Address by Mr. Jorge Quiroga Ramírez, President of the Republic of Bolivia

The President: The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Republic of Bolivia.

Mr. Jorge Quiroga Ramírez, President of the Republic of Bolivia, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. Jorge Quiroga Ramírez, President of the Republic of Bolivia, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

Mr. Quiroga Ramírez (*spoke in Spanish*): I come from the city of La Paz to add Bolivia's voice to this universal support the United Nations has received through the Nobel Peace Prize. This award expresses better than all the speeches could possibly do the way in which the world appreciates the Organization and its Secretary-General Mr. Kofi Annan. The mediating role performed by the Organization, its calls to nations to agree among themselves, the courage it has in assuming risks and the willingness it has shown to offer lives for a cause go beyond the mere performance of a duty; they are an example to all our Governments. The active role played by the Organization is more necessary now than ever before.

This is a time in which the evil, malignant shadow of terror is rising on the horizon as the new century dawns. The Berlin Wall was the symbol of ideological divisions during the second half of the twentieth century. We must now, after 11 September, tear down the wall of terrorism and intolerance that a few people wish to raise to divide the world.

On one side of this new wall are those of us who have built up and believe in democracy with pluralism. On the other side are those that wish despotically to impose their beliefs, with no respect for the rule of law. On one side of this new wall are those of us who permit and encourage the freedom of worship and expression. On the other side are those that do not practice, permit or tolerate it. On one side of this wall are those of us who every day try to create equality of opportunities for all women. On the other side are those that oppress and dominate them. On one side of this wall are those of us who value freedom above all. On the other side are the terrorists that wish to destroy and restrict it.

Let there be no doubt that Bolivia will always be on the side of democracy, freedom and tolerance. We want a life in peace and harmony. This is why my Government, without any hesitation, with total conviction and in all forums, has expressed its full support for the measures undertaken by the coalition led by the United States Government after the attacks that took the lives of thousands of innocent people, the majority of whom were in this very city of New York.

Terrorism is to a large extent incubated in and fed by the underground world of drug trafficking. We must not accept that in attacking freedom, terrorism disguises itself by putting forward political claims. We cannot accept that drug traffickers, seeking to undermine our democracies, drape themselves in the mantle of legitimate social demands. It is clear that terrorism and drug trafficking are Siamese twins and enemies of the free democracies. This is why we must combat each of them with the same vigour and determination.

Bolivia, with all its limitations, is performing its task in fighting drug trafficking. By the will of the majority of the Bolivians, expressed through our own national dialogue, guided by our own interests and encouraged by our own public opinion, we are irreversibly moving forward towards eradicating illegal coca crops used to prepare cocaine and are entering into the final stage of the Dignity Plan, whose purpose is to remove Bolivia from the drug circuit.

But the work is not finished. International solidarity and support are now more important than

ever before. To complete the task, Bolivia needs support on two levels. First of all, the international community must realize that sustained support for alternative development programmes is more necessary for the countries that have eliminated the bulk of illegal coca crops and cocaine, and in which many people have been displaced as a result.

Bolivia has reduced more than 90 percent of its illegal coca leaf production. However obvious it may seem, this percentage must be repeated over and over, because many international bureaucracies allocate resources according to the size of the problem, which is mistakenly defined as the volume of production of coca leaves and cocaine, when the real economic problem arises from the size of the reduction that has been achieved and the proportional reduction of the income generated by this activity. Bolivia deserves and needs more support than ever before, because it has made more progress than ever before.

Secondly, and of more relevance now, it is necessary to provide access to markets; the opportunity to fight for a place under the sun; and the right to work, produce and sell. And here, at this point, the decision by the United States and the European Union to open up their markets to the products of alternative development takes on critical and definitive significance.

Bolivia is the least developed nation of South America, the economy that is most open the region and the only country that has achieved such a dramatic reduction in such a poisonous and harmful product as cocaine, within so short a time. For these three reasons, we feel that we have every right to call for access to markets through free trade — triply free trade: free from tariffs, free from subsidies and free from non-tariff measures.

We need free trade, the triply free trade that applies to sectors such as telecommunications, banking, computers and turbines, must also apply to agriculture, textiles and leather. Unfortunately, these last three labour-intensive sectors are governed by nineteenth-century rules in the midst of the third millennium.

In Bolivia we are moving forward with decentralized and participatory programmes on health and education. An educated and vaccinated citizen who does not have a market, however, is not a full-fledged citizen of the present-day world of ours. In Bolivia we have straightened out and opened up our economy, but we have not seen full reciprocity in the developed world or on the part of our neighbours.

In Bolivia we have almost entirely eliminated the production of cocaine, which however harmful it might be, was an export product that was not subject to subsidies, barriers or tariffs. This is why we require access to markets to guarantee the completion of the Dignity Plan and avoid frustrating the will of our citizens, who have assumed the challenge of moving from illegal activities to legitimate work, without, however, having achieved the same access to the market.

On the threshold of the twenty-first century, in the midst of a severe economic and political crisis that affects all the countries of the region, Bolivia is facing another challenge that can decisively change its future. In the few years since the work on the most important gas pipeline of South America was completed, Bolivia's natural gas reserves grew exponentially, and have made my country a significant player in the hemisphere-wide market. We are now serving a growing part of the energy demands of Brazil, and we firmly intend to go on from here to reach the markets of the Pacific, Mexico and the United States.

The tragic events of 11 September saw to it that energy and gas integration must be based on a long-term vision that takes into account three elements: extensive gas reserves, a reliable economy and a solid democracy. Bolivia has these three elements. The projects that are now being studied and negotiated will transform the productive structure of my country, propel the growth rates, reinforce our role as a hub and the environmentally clean heart of the continent, while expanding our role and presence on the Pacific.

Bolivia will thus take another step on the march that it began more than 120 years ago to return to the sea of our ancestors.

Bolivia thus will reassert its unflinching determination to regain its status as a maritime nation, something with which we were born into independent life.

Bolivia supports the struggle against terrorism and for freedom. My country, more than any other country, is making a gigantic effort to fight the ally of terrorism — that is, drug trafficking. Given this effort,

given our determination to be open, and given the need to fight poverty, my country calls for access to markets.

Bolivia will play a central role in working towards reliable gas and energy integration in the twenty-first century.

Finally, we realize that the long struggle for freedom and the fight against terrorism is just beginning and will end only when all the citizens of the world, men and women alike, will be entitled to vote, to elect, to offer their opinions and to profess their faith, to move about freely and, above all, to live free from fear and terror. The United Nations must be the place where the world comes together to walk down this shared path. And together we will build this road towards integration and peace, as these times demand.

Address by Mr. Frederick Chiluba, President of the Republic of Zambia

The President: The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Republic of Zambia.

Mr. Frederick Chiluba, President of the Republic of Zambia, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. Frederick Chiluba, the President of the Republic of Zambia, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President Chiluba: Let me begin by congratulating you, Mr. President, on your election as President of this fifty-sixth session of the General Assembly. My delegation pledges its support and cooperation to you and your country as you discharge your important responsibilities.

I also wish to take this opportunity to pay tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Harri Holkeri of Finland, President of the fifty-fifth session. We are grateful to him for the able and successful manner in which he presided over the session.

I wish to salute the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, on his re-election to the helm of the United Nations, which is an attestation of the commitment and the dynamism with which he has guided the Organization during this period of great challenge.

I am addressing this session in my dual capacity as President of the Republic of Zambia and current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). This occasion holds a special significance to me as I make my last statement to the General Assembly as President of the Republic of Zambia, having almost come to the end of my second and last tenure of office of my country.

This year the general debate of the General Assembly is taking place in November instead of two months ago, because of the tragic events of 11 September. Those developments united us on the need to postpone this session, just as we were united in our resolve to fight international terrorism, which knows no boundaries. Indeed, today more than ever before, the entire world seems more conscious of, and gripped by, the evil of international terrorism and the consequent loss of life and destruction of property.

Terrorism is an affront to humanity. It is a heinous and cowardly act that is hated almost as much as we hated apartheid or any form of racism. It is for these reasons that Africa has for a long time been fighting international terrorism. In Algiers, Algeria, in 1999, we, as African leaders, took a mammoth decision by adopting a Convention on the prevention and combating of all forms of terrorism. Although the Convention has not entered into force, Africa has since then been seeking international support in the adoption of appropriate strategies for the effective eradication of the multiple root causes of terrorism. We remain resolute and resolutely committed to, and united in, the pursuit of this goal.

However, let me also hasten to add that, in spite of its gravity and magnitude, the threat of terrorism must not override or deduct from the appropriate focus on the outstanding matters on the global agenda. Burning issues such as the scourge of conflicts, poverty eradication, the debt problem and the HIV/AIDS pandemic, among other things, should continue to be accorded the necessary attention they so much deserve.

While many good things and positive developments have been taking place on the African continent, these are, nevertheless, largely overshadowed by the many conflicts that continue to rage in a number of our countries. We have witnessed conflict in the Mano River basin involving Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea; the situations in Sudan and Somalia are yet to be settled; disturbances recently erupted in the Comoros; and violence continues to threaten the constitutionally elected Government in the

Central African Republic. The Great Lakes region remains a tinderbox, while the conflict in Angola has experienced no movement towards resolution for quite some time now. Meanwhile, the ceasefire agreement in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is yet to be fully implemented.

Africa does not lack the political will or resolve to find solutions to these conflicts. Neither has Africa sat back and waited for the outside world to come and resolve these conflicts. Instead, Africa has acknowledged responsibility for these conflicts and has spearheaded efforts to bring peace wherever there have been conflicts.

It was Africa, through the efforts of President Abdelaziz Bouteflika, that brought about an end to the Ethiopia-Eritrea conflict. The guns were silenced in Liberia and Sierra Leone, thanks to the efforts of the leaders of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), who are still leading the effort to bring peace to the Mano River basin. The leaders of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) have continued to seek peaceful settlements in Sudan and Somalia, while the Lusaka peace processes have addressed the conflicts in Angola and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Most recently, a Transitional Government of National Unity was inaugurated in Burundi on 1 November 2001, as a culmination of efforts started by the late Mwalimu Julius Nyerere and completed by Nelson Mandela, two of Africa's most distinguished sons.

It is clear from the foregoing that what Africa needs to successfully resolve the conflicts on the continent is the moral, practical and financial support of the international community. Africa has always believed in the dictum that in unity there is strength. We believe that all nations belong to a common global community with a shared destiny and shared responsibilities.

To this end, Africa has always been ready and willing to participate in efforts to restore peace where peace has broken down, irrespective of the location of the region. Our men and women have served as peacekeepers in Europe, in Asia and in the Middle East because we believe that peace is indivisible.

Africa therefore expects that, just as we are ready and willing to serve in the promotion and defence of peace everywhere, so, too, should the international community be willing to be full partners in the search for peace in Africa.

In this regard, I cannot help but register our disappointment that after the painstaking efforts by Sir Ketumile Masire to organize the inter-Congolese national dialogue in Addis Ababa on 15 October 2001, and notwithstanding the many pledges made to finance it, the dialogue could not take off due partly to insufficient funds. I would therefore like to appeal to the international community, through the Assembly, to provide the necessary assistance to Sir Ketumile Masire, the facilitator of the inter-Congolese dialogue, to enable him to proceed with organizing the dialogue and to conclude the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In particular, I wish to make a special appeal to all those who have made pledges to the facilitator to release these pledges urgently.

Conflicts do not stand alone or develop in a vacuum. Political conflicts and social tension are a result of imbalances in the dispensation of political power, economic wealth and benefits, as well as of social suppression, segregation and the repression of one or more groups of people on the basis of race, ethnicity or even religion. The African continent, with barely 40 years of independence, has suffered centuries of fractured development, deprivation of resources and the political and social suppression of its people. These are the conditions at the centre of Africa's current struggle to redress both the political and economic imbalances.

The United Nations World Conference against Racism, held in South Africa this year, took a major historical step by refocusing on that human injustice of the past, whose consequences continue to ravage our societies to this day. The Conference condemned the slave trade, slavery, colonialism and apartheid as crimes against humanity. The condemnation of past injustices should be made on the premise that we now have the will, the resolve and the commitment to embark upon the process of healing, reconciliation and redress. Our final objective is to bring about justice, political liberation, economic development and a fair social system that will promote the human rights of individuals, the national sovereignty of States and mutually beneficial regional and global interdependence and cooperation.

The African economic and social condition has been on the agenda of the United Nations since

Africa's decade of independence. Slavery, colonialism and apartheid, and now pervasive poverty, misery and squalor for the majority of our people continue to ravage the continent with negative consequences for human life. The advent of HIV/AIDS, coupled with centuries-old diseases such as malaria and tuberculosis and with many other communicable yet curable diseases such as cholera, dysentery and diarrhoea, has reduced African life expectancy from 68 years to 50 years, and in some countries to only a pathetic 38 years. The mortality rate for children under the age of 5 years is 140 per 1,000 births on the average. Such adverse social conditions cannot be at all conducive to economic development and improvement in the standard of living. These conditions have to be changed for the better.

The development process of post-colonial or independent Africa has also accumulated debt and suffered negative terms of trade for its raw materials and products exported to the developed countries. On the one hand, the resulting huge trade deficits of African nations reduce their purchasing power for the technology, equipment and investment capital they need for economic growth and development. On the other hand, the deficit increases the foreign debt and shrinks public investment programmes for infrastructure and education and health delivery systems, thereby further suppressing the very conditions necessary for development and the eradication of poverty.

Africa is not asking for charity! No. What Africa is asking for is more accessible conditions for its raw materials and products, and for prices that are fair and conducive to development. We are not asking for charity. No. We are asking for more African countries to have access to the enhanced Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative (HIPC), so that they could use the freed resources to build infrastructure such as schools, combat diseases, provide safe drinking water and invest in income-generating community activities because, eventually, these are the measures which will reduce poverty. We further call on the international community to intensify and accelerate initiatives that should bring debt cancellation to the poor countries. There cannot be a credible solution to the problem of poverty in Africa without debt cancellation.

The continent of Africa has accepted and fully shares the responsibilities that come with globalization. As a developing continent, we need to continue to reorganize ourselves to face the challenges of the time. The thirty-seventh session of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Assembly of Heads of State and Government, held in Lusaka, Zambia, last July, took Africa to a new historical stage when it launched the African Union (AU). The AU will elevate Africa's integration agenda by forging a more cohesive political union, while also creating an economic community of nations. The Union also seeks to promote new levels of partnerships with the international community, particularly in the areas of sustainable economic growth and development and of peace and security. At the Lusaka Summit, the OAU also adopted a new economic-centred recovery programme and poverty reduction strategy called the New African Initiative, which is now called the New Partnership for African Development.

I wish to take this opportunity to express Africa's appreciation to the Group of 8 which, at its meeting in Genoa, Italy, in July, endorsed the African initiative. I also wish to thank the European Union, which, during our meeting last month in Brussels, pledged its full support of the initiative. It is important to note also that Africa has been an active participant in global trade liberalization initiatives. We thank the Government of the United States for the practical step it has taken through the African Growth and Opportunity Act. It is a pioneering example in expanding trade and export opportunities for Africa and for development.

Debt relief, debt cancellation, increased production, accessibility to export markets, better terms of trade and economic integration — these mark the way forward to African development, sustainable growth and poverty reduction. Under economic growth and improved social conditions, democracy and good governance will be sustained and conflicts reduced and managed, while peace and security will last.

The time has come for me to thank the people of Zambia for having given me the privilege and honour of serving in the distinguished capacity of President of the Republic of Zambia, to thank my colleagues in Africa for entrusting me with the chairmanship of the OAU and for their confidence and support and to thank all of you in the international community. I have tried my best during my tenure of office and can therefore only hope that I have lived and performed up to your expectations. Soon Zambia will have a new president. It is my hope that he will be accorded the same support

and cooperation you have so kindly given to me in the last ten years.

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Zambia for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Frederick Chiluba, President of the Republic of Zambia, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

Address by Mr. Ion Iliescu, President of Romania

The President: The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of Romania.

Mr. Ion Iliescu, President of Romania, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. Ion Iliescu, President of Romania, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President Iliescu: My most sincere congratulations go first to His Excellency Mr. Han Seung-soo on his election as President of the General Assembly at its fifty-sixth session. His outstanding personal qualities and the consistently valuable contributions of his country, the Republic of Korea, to United Nations activities are clear guarantees that the stewardship of the current session of the General Assembly, which started under dramatic and sorrowful circumstances, has been entrusted to a safe pair of hands.

I would also like to renew my heartfelt congratulations to our Secretary-General on the well-deserved awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize and on his election to another term in office. Romania will continue to support his commendable endeavours towards reforming the Organization in a way that should enable it to cope effectively with the challenges, old and new, of our modern world.

The horrific terrorist attack of 11 September was a rude awakening for all of us. It brought into focus both the abyssal evil we have to confront and the high value of human solidarity in the international response to it. It also shed new light on some problems that the international community has been facing for quite a while and accelerated certain processes, the far-reaching consequences of which are still not easy to predict.

There can be no ambivalence or half measures when it comes to condemning and effectively combating terrorism and militant, violent fanaticism of any kind. The tragedy that befell the United States and the United Nations host city affected all humankind and created a new resolve to bring to justice the perpetrators and those who support, abet or harbour them. We share the views of the President of the United States, Mr. George W. Bush, that what is at stake is not just America's freedom but that this is the world's fight, civilization's fight, the fight of all who believe in progress and pluralism, tolerance and freedom.

Belief in those fundamental values have inspired the noble concept of the dialogue among civilizations, so eloquently expounded by the Secretary-General in his address to the Assembly. Indeed, it is only through dialogue that points of convergence can be identified and cooperation becomes possible on matters that acquire significance once they become the object of shared concern.

Mr. Borg (Malta), Vice-President, took the Chair.

From the very beginning, Romania joined the international democratic community in its ongoing campaign against evil-doers and their supporters for a safer and freer world. The consensual view of the Romanian nation across the political spectrum was unequivocally expressed in Parliament's decision to make Romania's air, maritime and land space available to the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and to provide access to any other facilities that our partners may require. This is tangible proof of our commitment to acting as a de facto member of the North Atlantic Alliance.

My country firmly supports the relevant resolutions recently adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council, and we have already undertaken the necessary steps to ensure their full implementation in Romania.

Regional solidarity is also essential. At a very recent conference on the common fight against terrorism, held in Warsaw on 6 November, the heads of State of Central and Eastern Europe reflected upon their past common experiences and voiced their determination to stand firmly united in the fight against terror for as long as it takes. It is also appropriate to highlight here the meaningful work done by the Bucharest-based Southeast European Cooperation Initiative Regional Crime Center for Combating

Transborder Crime, involving active inputs from 11 countries. The Center should build upon its current activities in order to enhance its contribution to the worldwide fight against terrorism by making good use of existing liaison systems, intelligence-sharing and joint task forces.

I fully agreed with Secretary-General Kofi Annan when he recently said that we must not let the terrorist attacks distract us from the rest of the work we have to do. In no way do these tragic events make the broader mission of the United Nations less relevant. Indeed, the new focus on terrorism should not divert us from the core business of the world Organization. The agenda of this session is both comprehensive and substantial. We share the view that a large portion of our work should be devoted to seeking practical ways to implement the broad agreement reached at the Millennium Summit along the lines indicated in the Secretary-General's visionary road map report.

We support the Secretary-General in his efforts to integrate human rights into the whole range of United Nations activities. We encourage closer cooperation between the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, other United Nations agencies and mechanisms and regional structures that have extensive expertise in this field, such as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, whose chairmanship-in-office is currently held by Romania.

We regard the enhancement of the United Nations peacekeeping capability as a top priority. Recent experience in the Balkans and elsewhere has taught us that proper policing can be at least as important as the use of military might in modern-day peacekeeping and peace-building operations. That is why Romania has decided, in addition to its previous commitments in the area, to contribute a significant contingent of military policemen to the international presence in Kosovo to assist the transition from conflict to stability.

The United Nations can become a focal point for constructive interaction with regional or subregional structures and specialized organizations of civil society in dealing with concrete problems ranging from conflict prevention to peace-building and post-conflict rehabilitation, reconstruction and sustainable development.

Probably the greatest challenge to the international community is still how to reduce economic and social disparities and to achieve sustainable growth and poverty reduction within and between all countries through appropriate policies and well-focused institution-building. The world's leaders have pledged to engage political determination, financial resources and innovative policies to reduce global poverty by half before the year 2015. This is most commendable, but it may prove to be more difficult to accomplish than originally envisaged.

The 11 September attacks have affected not only world security but also the global economy, which in the preceding months was already showing signs of a slowdown. The consequences are likely to be far-reaching and much more dangerous than those of the 1997-1998 Asian financial crisis. The volume of international trade, which increased by almost 13 per cent in the year 2000, may decline by as much as 3 per cent in 2001. People in developing countries in particular are going to be hurt again.

The United Nations has an essential part to play in promoting further integration of the world economy in accordance with the principles of sustainable development. But let us face the reality: we live in a world where the developmental gap between the centre and the periphery, between North and South, between rich and poor, is still wide and growing wider. The existing mechanisms for an orderly transfer of resources appear to have been sadly inadequate. One would expect that the recent shock, and the renewed sense of global solidarity that it has triggered, would prompt us into action to address the underlying causes of blind anger: misery and hopelessness. The war against terrorism can be truly successful only if it also becomes a war against poverty, illiteracy, disease and intolerance. I trust that the collective wisdom and goodwill of responsible politicians everywhere will be able to produce new and effective international mechanisms meant to combine the vision of sustainable, environment-friendly development with good governance and the generalized observance of basic human rights.

We see disturbing signs that the increasing polarization with regard to wealth creation goes hand in hand with a deepening knowledge divide. The emerging knowledge economy has scarcely heeded the injunctions of globalization. It still appears to the eyes of many to be self-serving and parochial. However, it is precisely the link between economic development and the advancement of knowledge that should give the

laggards a chance to catch up through a more rational utilization of resources, including intellectual resources. We hope to see a new pattern of open networking which will benefit each country — especially those that are less developed — as well as the international system as a whole. Again, existing institutions do not seem creative or flexible enough to address this challenge. The United Nations system may become the catalyst for concerted action in public-private partnerships to bring the "digital dividend" into every community and every home.

The knowledge gap is compounded by the ubiquitous phenomenon of brain drain from the developing to the developed world. The problem is almost as old as the United Nations itself. How to reverse that trend, transforming it into a "brain regain", is another major challenge facing us all. To put it simply, what we have here is a steady, not-so-hidden flow of subsidies from the poorer nations to the richer ones. After all, most of an education budget comes out of the taxpayer's pocket. Banish the thought of regarding the individual as the property of the all-powerful State: that notion is dead and gone. But it may make sense to start thinking of some sort of legally binding international instruments built on a broader interpretation of the concept of intellectual property to ensure a fairer distribution of the benefits of knowledge.

The European Union has recently regulated the transfer of players between soccer clubs. What about a similar contractual arrangement between, say, "Polytechnic University X Club" and "Microsoft Club"? Some experimental domestic schemes have worked well in linking industry to higher learning by resorting to market mechanisms. Why should we not consider international intellectual partnerships, mutually beneficial for countries having advanced technologies and infrastructure and those generating creative human energies?

Romania supports the strengthening of the United Nations through comprehensive institutional reforms on the basis of the set of proposals now before us. As the Secretary-General rightly noted, the United Nations should turn from a culture of reaction to one of prevention, aiming at the root causes of the prevailing negative phenomena. We look forward to an increasingly effective General Assembly regaining its central position in the United Nations family, as called for in the Millennium Declaration.

Experience shows that enhanced regional cooperation can be both the engine and the result of globalization. In a regional format, States can implement innovative strategies for better access to resources and markets. Regional organizations are poised to become a significant factor in the global community. Regional cooperation makes it possible to capitalize on the advantages of globalization while reducing its risks.

A set of policies can be successful only if it relies consistently on the fundamental aspiration of ordinary people to a peaceful and decent life. The current unprecedented level of knowledge will, I am confident, enable us to find the requisite resources, both in ourselves and in society, for greater tolerance, mutual respect and constructive dialogue, as opposed to the primitive inclination to hatred and intolerance.

It is incumbent on the United Nations, the only international organization of universal vocation, to identify within itself the resources for the resolution of problems of global concern. The United Nations should keep working tenaciously to renew its structures and improve its operational performance as we advance into the new millennium. Romania is ready and willing to add its contribution to that effort.

The Acting President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of Romania for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Ion Iliescu, President of Romania, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

Agenda item 9 (*continued*)

General debate

Address by Mr. Percival James Patterson, Prime Minister and Minister of Defence of Jamaica

The Acting President: The Assembly will now hear an address by the Prime Minister and Minister of Defence of Jamaica.

Mr. Percival James Patterson, Prime Minister and Minister of Defence of Jamaica, was escorted to the rostrum.

The Acting President: I have great pleasure in welcoming the Prime Minister and Minister of Defence of Jamaica, The Right Honourable Percival James

Patterson, and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

Mr. Patterson (Jamaica): I am delighted to join in the chorus of warm congratulations already expressed before this Assembly to the Secretary-General of our Organization, His Excellency Mr. Kofi Annan, and to the United Nations itself, on the joint award of this year's Nobel Peace Prize.

We also include in this proud salute those who have fallen in the line of duty, while recognizing those who continue to serve in areas of danger, all for the cause of peace. It is a fitting tribute that that Prize, dedicated to the cause of peace and so richly earned by our Secretary-General in his own right and by the United Nations Organization collectively, has been conferred on them this year. No one doubts that the accolades are truly deserved. They are most fitting at a time when the entire world is in upheaval.

The catastrophic attacks, cynically perpetrated on the International Day of Peace in the city that is host to the United Nations, as well as elsewhere, have, in their wanton slaughter of innocents and awesome destructiveness, sent shock waves around the world. The messiahs of terror have, by the sheer magnitude and horror of their unprecedented crime against humanity, unified nations and people in the determination to remove the spectre of terrorism in all its many forms, wherever it is manifested.

Jamaica stands firmly with the international community on Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) against terrorism. As a member of the Council, we assert, with particular emphasis and deliberation, our unwavering commitment to the cause of ending this pernicious evil.

To defeat the forces of terror, our collective action must be firm, decisive and broad-based. International law must become a binding framework for the total defeat of terrorism. Jamaica welcomes the ongoing efforts to elaborate a draft comprehensive convention against terrorism. We hope that during this session of the General Assembly the momentum will be seized to achieve measurable progress in this critical area. At the same time, the international community needs to take action aimed at achieving the universality of the existing conventions and other instruments against terrorism.

Jamaica is accelerating its domestic action to achieve those objectives, and this morning I was pleased to sign the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism.

For the past two years, Jamaica has worked with other members of the Council to make peacekeeping operations more efficient; to create strategies for sustained peace-building; to bring warring factions to the peace table and, beyond that, to promote compliance with resulting accords; and to put in place mechanisms for protecting those most affected by situations of conflict, especially the women and children.

We are pleased with the work already undertaken in respect of the Brahimi report on peacekeeping operations. Through a number of tribunals, we have demonstrated that the United Nations will act to end impunity. Despite sustained international efforts, however, several flashpoints still remain.

Jamaica is deeply concerned about the continuing cycle of violence and reprisal in the Middle East. Efforts to achieve a durable ceasefire have been thwarted at every turn. Numerous resolutions of the Security Council have been ignored. We recognize the positive efforts of some permanent members to influence a return to the peace process, but the Security Council should not be marginalized in these initiatives. Jamaica again urges the Government of Israel and the Palestinian Authority to spare no effort in complying with agreements already reached. We call on both parties to remain engaged in the quest for a durable peace.

We dare not neglect the millions of children worldwide who suffer from hunger, disease and ignorance. In situations of conflict, children are the most vulnerable victims. We have all been horrified by their exploitation as child soldiers and by the trafficking and sexual abuse that numerous children have suffered. We have to remember that they constitute the generation of tomorrow, in whose hands will rest the future of international peace and security.

Nor must we forget the importance of humanitarian assistance to the innocent people in conflict-torn areas of the world and to refugees and displaced persons, as well as to those who are victims of natural and man-made disasters. For them, the United Nations must become a beacon of hope for the

peace and stability that will enable them to lead normal and productive lives.

Military strikes cannot by themselves eradicate terrorism. In our response, we need to be mindful that the time has come for us to inaugurate a new era of peace — not simply through preventing war, but by eliminating the causes that give rise to strife and violence. And so I stand at this rostrum today to call for a United Nations renaissance, for a rebirth of this Organization, which will not just permit it to be the harbinger of peace, but which will empower it to foster a climate that will usher in a new age of global development and a dynamic partnership for human prosperity.

We are living in a time of fear, not just in this country or here in this city, but worldwide: fear for the lives of people; fear for the state of economies, national and global; fear that our propensity for wanton destruction may impair the capacity of the planet itself to sustain life. These fears are compounded by other blights — the blights of disease, ignorance and bigotry towards people on the basis of ethnicity, religion and gender; the blight of cruel and autocratic governance in some places; and, most pervasive of all, the blight of poverty.

The expansion of the global economy in the last four decades has not eliminated gross poverty or even reduced its prevalence. A sophisticated, globalized, increasingly affluent world currently co-exists, globally and within countries, with a marginalized underclass.

The hungry, the homeless and the destitute are less impassioned about the physical insecurities of terrorist repression or the damaging consequences of military warfare. The unemployed, those who are ill but have no health care, those who are cold but have no proper heating, those who are old but have no social support — for these victims, "security" means a meal, a roof, a job, medicine, warmth and relief from poverty in general. But those needs are just as real and insistent, and they represent for them the most immediate denial of their rights as human beings.

During the last decade, the process of globalization, deregulation and privatization has swept the world. It is incontrovertible that it has not been a golden age for a large proportion of the world's people: not just for the 1.3 billion absolute poor in developing countries whom the benefits of globalization seem to have bypassed, but for many millions in industrial countries also. We delude ourselves if we believe that all those engaged in street protests, whether in Seattle, Washington, Prague, Quebec city or Rome, are simply anarchists.

International institutions must not only be accountable; they must be subject to democratic governance as well. It is becoming more widely recognized that a new global institutional architecture is needed to establish representative superintendence of the global economy, directed towards enlargement of social and economic justice worldwide and targeted to a sharp redirection of the numbers mired in gross poverty and deprivation.

Some of the desired progress may be possible through existing institutions, but more radical reform may also be required. Democratic superintendence of the global economy has to be a central feature of the fresh global architecture we seek to fashion during this decade. That new global architecture must incorporate appropriate arrangements for a start to be made in raising global resources for global purposes in ways that do not generate alarm. The persistence of gross poverty, the long list of environmental abuses, the disturbing reduction in development aid and the vagaries of foreign private investment make a compelling case for global revenues.

The world faces crucial choices. We have to identify and follow a guiding principle if humanity is to make an enlightened response to the challenges we face. We can hardly return to the principles of a feudal world in which military and economic strength are concentrated in the hands of a few, while we indulge in an illusion of order through the marginalization of the many. In our interdependent, interconnected world, that is no longer a credible option.

Our only way forward lies here in the United Nations. If this institution did not exist before 11 September, we would have to create it now. We have to be inspired by the vision that propelled the generation of 1945 to pursue the path of collective responsibility for peace and human progress through a regime of multilateral action anchored by the United Nations. It was coterie of Governments, in a rare moment of collective wisdom and creativity, that settled the United Nations Charter. It was not without flaws in its inception, and some flaws have remained to hobble its capacity to initiate the renaissance of which I speak.

It is within that context that the demand for the reform of the Security Council becomes even more urgent, since the Council's present design and functioning weaken its capacity to fulfil its mandate. We must remove all existing constraints on the capacity of the United Nations. Even as we work to improve it and to reform it, we must proclaim the United Nations to be the temple in which we can all worship. "We, the people" must be made a reality to fulfil the commitment made in their name by the Charter of 1945.

Today, our greatest hope lies in people: in people of all races, of all genders, of all faiths; people of all continents and oceans; people of all ages; the "ordinary" people of the world and those who hold themselves to be of higher station. All the world's people are affected by the calamities that loom; all must be involved in turning humanity away from gloom and in finding the light.

The Charter does not set out the principal organs of the United Nations in a hierarchical order, but the General Assembly is the only principal organ under the Charter that embraces all the Members on a one member, one vote basis. It is the symbol of the United Nations as a universal organization in the best democratic tradition. And so, I believe that it is within the General Assembly that the true renaissance of the United Nations must begin. The special value of the General Assembly is its universality, its capacity to be a forum in which the voice of every Member State can be raised. It provides the opportunity for countries to ventilate issues, to bring complaints to the floor in the general debate and to suggest new ideas in committees. But the assumption surely must be valid that deliberation should inform action.

High among the changes that should mark the renaissance of the United Nations is the revitalization of the General Assembly as a universal forum of the world's States. Even with a reformed and somewhat enlarged Security Council, many Member States with a capacity to contribute significantly to the policies and programmes of the United Nations and to global governance will have to remain on the sidelines. A General Assembly that occupies more of the stage and reorders its work to make it more focused and more result-oriented, will allow each of us a meaningful role in world governance through our work in the Assembly. It is in the interest of the world community to have a more vigorous and effective General Assembly which can and should play a vital legitimating role in the United Nations, consonant with the universality of its membership.

Here in the General Assembly, we are the practitioners of international affairs. At the heart of the conduct of those affairs must lie a sense of realism. I too am conscious that the accumulated baggage of decades cannot be shed in a single heave. That is why I do not call for reform but advocate instead a renaissance: a rebirth which offers the chance of facing the twenty-first century with sound values no longer predicated on a world of adversarial States but on an interactive world of people that has espoused neighbourhood values of respect for life and liberty, for justice and equity, for tolerance and caring; values that balance rights with responsibilities, that elevate the democratic ethic at both the national and the global levels.

We are a long way from that consummation, however devoutly we may wish it. But we are sufficiently frightened by the prospects that confront us to recognize the need for humanity to take "the path less travelled by". There are enough good people in all our societies — who together are the silent majority of the world's people — to ensure that by choosing this new path we can indeed make a real difference. We have to find a better way than the one a divided world has been pursuing. That way has to lie through the United Nations as an organization — but a United Nations revitalized, its agencies repaired, reformed and responsive to a culture of new values appropriate to our time.

This new era of global relations demands bolder and more ingenious approaches to confidence-building and to development as a prerequisite for international peace and security. An equitable framework to finance national and global development, to fuel expansion of international trade and to foster sustainable development must be placed on the front burner, whether we gather in Qatar, in Mexico or in South Africa.

If the global conferences to be held in those three places are to succeed, Member States must be guided by full recognition that this new era of global relations demands, as I said, more ingenious approaches to confidence-building and to development as a precondition for international peace and security.

In closing, I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Han on his assumption of the presidency of this session of the General Assembly and to commit Jamaica's total support for the attainment of our common goals in the service of all humankind.

Whatever may be our colour, culture or creed, we belong to a single race — that is, the human race. We occupy a single planet, which has more than enough to enable each person and every nation to enjoy the abundance which Mother Earth has to offer and for all its people to dwell together in harmony.

Now more than at any time in its history, the United Nations is the best vehicle to procure global peace and to foster international cooperation. Let this, the fifty-sixth session of the General Assembly, loudly and clearly proclaim that the renaissance of the United Nations has indeed begun.

The Acting President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister and Minister for Defence of Jamaica for the statement he has just made.

The Right Honourable Percival James Patterson, MP, Prime Minister and Minister for Defence of Jamaica, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

Address by Mr. Alhaji Aliu Mahama, Vice-President of the Republic of Ghana

The Acting President: The Assembly will now hear a statement by Mr. Alhaji Aliu Mahama, Vice-President of the Republic of Ghana.

Mr. Alhaji Aliu Mahama, Vice-President of the Republic of Ghana, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The Acting President: I have great pleasure in welcoming His Excellency Mr. Alhaji Aliu Mahama, Vice-President of the Republic of Ghana, and I invite him to address the General Assembly.

Mr. Mahama (Ghana): Mr. Han's election to the fifty-sixth session of the General Assembly is a tribute to his vast experience and accomplished diplomatic skills. It is also an honour to his country, the Republic of Korea, with which my country enjoys the most cordial and friendly relations. I ask him to please accept our congratulations.

May I also express our gratitude and appreciation to his immediate predecessor, Mr. Harri Holkeri of Finland, for the able manner in which he guided the work of the fifty-fifth session.

I wish to express the heartfelt gratitude of the Government and the people of Ghana to the States Members of the United Nations for having placed their trust and the destiny of this universal Organization once again in the hands of an illustrious son of Ghana and of Africa, Mr. Kofi Annan, for the next five years.

The Nobel Peace Prize, awarded jointly to the Secretary-General and the United Nations, is in recognition of their devotion to the pursuit of global peace and security. On this occasion, I can only endorse the sentiments expressed by Mr. Annan that the award should serve as an impetus to record greater achievements in the service of humanity.

The last century witnessed laudable achievements in the political, economic, scientific and technological spheres. Despite these positive developments, history, in the end, will remember it for the numerous conflicts that marked it, with their attendant socio-economic disruptions, environmental degradation, the emergence of hitherto-unknown diseases and the persistence of poverty among the majority of our people.

The tragic terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 awakened the world to the new challenges confronting international peace and security. The fight against terrorism must be a collective action, guided by the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and of international law. Ghana welcomes the international community's response in confronting this threat to peace and security. We also applaud the swift response of the Security Council and of the General Assembly, which not only condemned the attacks, but also took measures aimed at confronting terrorism. Resolution 1373 (2001), which outlines the measures that all countries — irrespective of size, wealth or might — should adopt to forestall and combat terrorism must be pursued by all peace-loving nations.

As we forge ahead, our quest to free the world of terrorism will be enhanced if we adequately address both the symptoms and the underlying causes that give rise to such criminal acts. Developing countries should be provided with the necessary resources to play a meaningful role in confronting these challenges.

The recent threats and crimes against humanity have reinforced our belief in the need for the early establishment of the International Criminal Court, in order to enable the global community to deal appropriately with such phenomena. We therefore urge all Member States that have not yet ratified the Statute to do so to enable it to enter into force.

The proliferation of conventional weapons, notably small arms and light weapons, has been of great concern to the Government and the people of Ghana. They are now the weapons of choice and the tools for promoting violence and conflicts in Africa. Such weapons have always been used against the most vulnerable in society, especially women and children.

We therefore welcome the Programme of Action adopted at the recent United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects. While it does not respond to all of our concerns or meet all of our expectations, we still consider it to be the beginning of a process that will lead to an internationally binding instrument on managing and controlling such weapons.

Conflicts, particularly in the developing world, have robbed us of the opportunity to improve the circumstances of our people. Sustainable development can be achieved only in an environment of peace and security. Ghana will continue to live up to its Charter obligations and to play an active role in international peacekeeping, with a view to assisting the United Nations in its task of maintaining global peace and security.

Only a year ago, world leaders, at the Millennium Summit, committed themselves to providing leadership to create a better world, one which would uphold human dignity, equality and equity at the global level, through the elimination of poverty and the creation of a conducive environment for development.

To achieve this, it is imperative that the international community take steps to assist countries that have created the necessary environment for sound economic development. This will enable them to reach their potential for sustained growth through conducive policies concerning debt, market access, transfer of technology, increased flows of capital and foreign direct investment, and enhanced official development assistance.

It is important, particularly at this moment when the fourth Ministerial Conference of the World Trade Organization is taking place in Doha, to emphasize the critical role of global trade in generating the resources for financing development in developing countries. The outcome of the Doha Conference, our commitment to pursuing the decisions and processes emanating from that Conference, the implementation of the commitments made in the Uruguay Round and how we address intellectual property rights should clearly determine our commitment to eradicating poverty throughout the world.

We believe that the success of our efforts at the global level will depend largely on the quality of governance in our respective countries. We cannot claim to uphold the dignity of every human being or make claims to social equity if we fail to uphold democracy and the rule of law, combat corruption and strengthen the institutions of governance. It is therefore gratifying to note that in the past few years democracy has begun to take root in Africa. This trend should be encouraged and consolidated with support from the international community.

It is for this reason that Ghana fully endorsed the Constitutive Act of the African Union, which, among other things, rejects unconstitutional changes of Government and reaffirms respect for democratic principles, human rights, the rule of law and good governance. The decisions we took in Lusaka during the last summit of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) on the African Union and the New Partnership for African Development have reasserted Africa's leadership and responsibility for the continent's development agenda. Ghana intends to play its part through positive diplomacy and cooperation with other African countries to accelerate regional integration and make Africa a zone of economic empowerment.

Africa accepts its primary responsibility for its own development. However, the contribution of its development partners will continue to be crucial. In this connection, the outcomes of the International Conference on Financing for Development, to be held next year in Monterrey, Mexico, and of the World Summit on Sustainable Development, to be held in Johannesburg, will be critical tests of our willingness to tackle concretely the challenges we set for ourselves in the Millennium Declaration.

At the onset of the new millennium, we hope that gender issues will continue to engage the attention of the international community. The adoption of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, in 1995, and the subsequent adoption of further actions and initiatives by the twenty-third special session of the General Assembly, last year, indicate the universal recognition of the need to empower women as partners in socio-economic development. As a result of the great importance that Ghana attaches to the advancement of women, our Government has elevated the national machinery for the advancement of women into a full-fledged ministry headed by a cabinet minister. We are determined, through practical measures, to make our women full and effective partners in the development of our country.

Ghana welcomes the remarkable success achieved by the General Assembly at its fifty-fifth session with the adoption, after protracted negotiations, of the resolutions on the scale of assessments for the regular and peacekeeping budgets. It is therefore our considered view that both resolutions should ensure the financial solvency and viability of the Organization.

In conclusion, I wish to reassure the Assembly of Ghana's abiding commitment to the United Nations and its ideals. The Organization is the best means available for maintaining international peace and security and promoting fruitful international cooperation. We must all resolve to strengthen our will to make it more effective and to redeem the majority of our people from wars, disease and poverty by providing it with financial and material resources commensurate with its responsibilities.

The Acting President: I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Hubert Védrine, Minister for Foreign Affairs of France.

Mr. Védrine (France) (*spoke in French*): At the outset, it is a great pleasure for me to congratulate the President on his election, which is a sign of the esteem in which he and his country are held.

Coming after his re-election to a second term — which is a sign of the general confidence he has earned — the Nobel Peace Prize that has been awarded to the Secretary-General is a well-deserved tribute to his work and, through him, to the United Nations Organization as a whole, thereby inspiring greater hope than ever before.

On this my third visit to New York since the tragedy of 11 September, I also want to express once again my profound emotion and pay homage to the people of New York, who are being so severely tested, and to their courageous mayor, who is now finishing his term.

The unprecedented magnitude and gravity of the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington on 11 September warrant our unfailing solidarity and an exceptional response. In its resolution 1368 (2001), which was adopted unanimously, the Security Council rightly qualified those acts as attacks and, hence, as legitimately meriting a defensive response under Article 51 of the Charter. The United States is thus entirely within its legal and political rights in carrying out its targeted military response against the terrorist organizations responsible for those acts. The military action under way was therefore inevitable, and must be pursued until all its objectives have been achieved. Given the preliminary results achieved yesterday, I hope that those objectives will be met as soon as possible. The leaders of these terrorist networks and those who support them must be decisively prevented from committing further harm.

But that military action should, as a matter of course, form part of an overarching strategy that includes immediate, broad-scale humanitarian action that is better adapted to the needs of people in distress. France has put forward several proposals in this regard and supports the current initiatives for better coordination. That overarching strategy should also include a political solution — something that has now become urgent — and strive to ensure that the demise of the Taliban regime does not lead to factional infighting and chaos; and it must once again make the Afghan people masters of their own future. That is the aim of the action plan for Afghanistan that France proposed back on 1 October, and of the other contributions it has made with the same goals in mind.

We await Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi's proposals with interest; they should set forth broad outlines of action for the United Nations. On these bases, the Security Council should be able to adopt a framework resolution within a few days, endorsing Mr. Brahimi's proposals and spelling out the modalities of United Nations support for the establishment of an Afghan Government representative of the various constituents of the population. There is no question of imposing on Afghanistan some ready-made solution concocted by

outsiders. I call on all the constituents of the Afghan nation and all neighbouring countries to heed the general interest of Afghanistan and its people. This is compatible with respect for the legitimate interests of the various parties concerned and it is the only way to turn our backs on the past.

Beyond immediate military, diplomatic and humanitarian action, our common fight against terrorism needs to be pursued in all its forms, including police, judicial and others. The United Nations will have a crucial role to play in this difficult struggle, laying down universal obligations for each State and the framework for our action. A series of conventions has already been concluded, particularly the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism, which I proposed in this very place in 1999. We must speed up the signature and ratification of those conventions. The General Assembly must quickly conclude the negotiations on the comprehensive convention on international terrorism. For its part, the Security Council should oversee the coordinated implementation by States of its resolution 1373 (2001).

Action against terrorism also needs to be carried out through other organizations, in conjunction with the United Nations and consistent with its policies. For its part, the European Union (EU) has just taken unprecedented steps to strengthen police and judicial cooperation among its member States, including the creation of a European arrest warrant. An ambitious action plan has been agreed. The 29 members of the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) have decided to extend the fight against money-laundering to the fight against the financing of terrorism. Beyond that, I propose the creation of a dialogue forum to move us in this direction. Several other organizations, too, will have a role to play, so that at the end of the day every country will be making a contribution.

Leaving aside the hoped-for short-term results, the obstacles notwithstanding, we will not achieve lasting victory against all forms of terrorism unless we succeed in depriving terrorists of their breeding ground and eliminating the pretexts from which they fallaciously draw their justification, and unless we eradicate them in the true sense of the term. That implies nothing short of changing our world. And let no one claim that this would be tantamount to justifying the terrorists. For neither my country, nor Europe, nor the United Nations — in other words, none of us — waited for 11 September to discover, condemn and seek to remedy the ills of the world. Yet how many good intentions have come to naught? How many resolutions have gone unimplemented? How many announcements have failed to materialize, which now feed a sense of bitterness and incomprehension? It is pointless to condemn or deny the theory of a clash of civilizations. Rather, we must fight against such a risk, which is by no means wholly imaginary, and against those who would make it a reality.

This should be one more pressing reason for us all to find a solution to regional crises, particularly in the Middle East. Since 1982, France has called for the creation of a Palestinian State. Naturally, it would have to be viable, democratic and peaceful, and it should give credible undertakings as regards Israel's security. Guarantees will be needed, yet the Palestinian State is not the problem; it is the solution for reasons based on rights, humanity and security. Such is the EU's common stance today. This morning, before the Assembly, President Bush himself has made this his objective. It is the path of reason — the only path that can halt the murderous spiral of conflict between the two peoples.

Admittedly, responsibility for a lasting peace agreement lies first and foremost with the protagonists. Unless they make the move, no one else will be able to overcome their fears and resentment and put an end to the suffering of these two peoples. Yet, the increasing threat that this conflict poses to international peace and security requires that those who have the will and the means join forces in a push for peace, given that the main players are evidently unable to do so unaided.

The urgency of the situation in the Near East obviously should not make us forget Iraq. Regional security still needs to be secured by restoring an international monitoring capability and by alleviating the suffering of the Iraqi people through the lifting of the embargo on civilian goods. I hope the discussions now in progress in the Security Council will finally bring this about.

Nor should we forget the Caucasus, where ancient quarrels live on and where new ones are rising to the fore. Yet, here again there is no other way than to seek negotiated political solutions.

In the Balkans, we realized that international involvement must be sustainable. Thanks to it, and thanks to new leaders, noteworthy progress has been

achieved towards democracy, reconciliation and regional cooperation over the last two years. We must make sure these positive changes are not challenged by outmoded patterns of behaviour. We must maintain and pursue the Europeanization of the Balkans.

Turning to the Great Lakes region, we know that the lasting resolution of the conflict, which involves more than eight countries, will be a negotiated solution that will ensure the restoration of the sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and include as well safeguard clauses to protect the security of each of the States. The Lusaka Agreement and the relevant Security Council resolutions provide the framework for ending this crisis, but they should be applied as quickly as possible. To halt the illegal use of the resources of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which often occurs in association with forced child labour, should be an immediate priority.

In all the cases I have just referred to briefly — and there are others — the problem we have to resolve is the coexistence of peoples who are at once close and antagonistic, deeply affected and divided by history and separated by fear and the spirit of revenge. We will achieve this only through perseverance and a clear understanding of each particular situation, guided by the principles of the United Nations.

Even if we managed to resolve all these regional crises and others as well, our task would still not be over because, at the global level, the gulf between intentions for the world as stated at international meetings and actual realities is becoming intolerable for many peoples. We must redouble our efforts to create humane globalization. We saw this in Seattle, we saw it in Genoa, and even more so in Durban. We can see it in the reactions to the Afghan crisis and to many other issues. Despite the United Nations and our good resolutions, there is still no real universal consensus. What we call "the international community" has yet to be built. Is this a reason to throw in the towel? To the contrary – absolutely not. France has long been determined to add its stone to this edifice. We have already put forward numerous proposals to that end and will continue to do so, with increased conviction.

Need I recall our well-known major objectives for the world?

First, we must achieve a fairer distribution of wealth; 3 billion people currently live on less than 2 dollars per day, and the global income gap between the richest and the poorest has doubled over the last 40 years.

Second, we must end impunity.

Third, we must guarantee sustainable development everywhere — "sustainable", that little word that makes all the difference, or which should make all the difference. The World Summit in Johannesburg in September 2002 will provide an opportunity to affirm a vision and a benchmark of development based on three intimately linked pillars: economic, social and environmental.

Fourth, we must help refugees and fully respect the right of asylum.

Fifth, we must manage population movements in a humanitarian manner.

Sixth, we must draft international standards in a democratic way to ensure that they are entirely legitimate and that everyone will consequently be bound to comply with them.

Seventh, we must no longer tolerate situations of human distress. State sovereignty, which remains an essential feature of the international system, cannot, in extreme emergencies, be regarded as an absolute principle serving as a pretext for inaction. The Security Council must be able to fully assume its responsibilities in cases of gross human rights violations, for these also pose threats to international peace and security.

Eighth, we must aim at promoting balanced and negotiated disarmament, which strengthens security and strategic stability.

Ninth, we must strive to allow all languages, cultures and civilizations to exist while maintaining a dialogue with one another.

Tenth, we must seek to improve the state of health worldwide, which for one thing means devoting more resources to combating HIV/AIDS. I would hope that the new Global AIDS and Health Fund will be made operational by the beginning of 2002.

But we are undoubtedly now more aware than in recent years that the attainment of these objectives, which are both indispensable, and very ambitious, calls different rules and different mechanisms, starting with the reform and enlargement of the Security Council, which we have waited for all too long; with respect for

the role of the General Assembly; with the ratification of the major multilateral instruments — I am thinking of the Statute of the International Criminal Court and the Kyoto Protocol, among others; with a more appropriate and less indiscriminate use of sanctions when they are needed; with a clarification of the respective and legitimate roles of Governments and civil society; with an agreement on the modalities of interference to deal with large-scale and extreme emergency situations; with a regulation and development round at the World Trade Organization (WTO), which is starting today in Doha; with closer cooperation and greater consistency between the WTO and the International Labour Organization; with the creation of a world environmental organization; and with reform of the international financial institutions. I shall stop this list here. I could go on, for there is so much that remains to be done.

All of us, as Members of the United Nations, are faced with this challenge. But I do not hesitate to say here that the rich countries — in other words, the West and a handful of other countries from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, where some 1.135 billion men and women live, have even more responsibility than others. Now that the illusions of the last 10 years have been dispelled, the choice before us is harsh, but clear: either a world so unjust that we have conflict with no foreseeable end, or, on the contrary, an international community of the United Nations, at last worthy of the name, to solve together humanity's common problems and ensure its future. But building this community, instead of just talking about it or yearning for it, will mean for some of us giving up privileges, sharing wealth and power in new ways, and rewriting certain rules hitherto held to be inviolable. As the Nobel Prize-winning economist Joseph Stiglitz has written, free trade was designed by Western countries for the Western countries. This is debatable, of course, but none of this will happen without sacrifices, above all on the part of the rich and powerful countries.

At this very moment, a reshuffling of diplomatic cards on a grand scale is under way between the United States, Russia, China, Europe, the Arab or Muslim world, the other coalition partners, the rest of the world and the United Nations. I hope — I truly hope — that this will help to bring about a vital awakening and that my country, Europe and the United Nations will follow new avenues, in deeds and not just words, and that all of us, together, will successfully extend the needed coalition against terrorism to turn it into a coalition for an equitable world, and that this will lay the groundwork for a renewal of the international system.

The Acting President: I now give the floor to His Excellency Juli Minoves-Triquell, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Andorra.

Mr. Minoves-Triquell (Andorra) (*spoke in French*): Allow me at the outset to congratulate Mr. Han Seung-soo on his election to the presidency of the Assembly and to express our thanks to his predecessor, Mr. Harri Holkeri.

(*spoke in Spanish*)

I would also like to congratulate the Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, and the United Nations on their well-deserved Nobel Peace Prize.

(*spoke in French*)

We are compelled to take up the events of 11 September and the actions initiated by our Organization, starting with Security Council resolution 1373 (2001), at our discussions here today. I have chosen to make my statement in a language not of my country — English, the language of our host country and city — in tribute to the United States, to the American people and Government and to New York City, which were harmed by the recent terrorist attacks.

(*spoke in English*)

We meet today almost two months after the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center in New York City. The horror of this attack, the thousands dead: so many terrible images have been seared into our collective memory. And we remember also the remarkable acts of courage and determination that followed in the wake of this shameful crime.

That the attack took place here, in New York, the seat of the United Nations, is both painful and sad. For New York is an immigrant's city that welcomes with open arms all races and all creeds from our world. The list of the victims of the attack, from so many different countries, attests to the remarkable and joyous diversity that makes New York. She is truly the capital of the world, and the right place, the only place, for its United Nations.

We know that this very building might have been a target for the terrorists, and that in an earlier terrorist

attack of 1993, the United Nations was on the list. This seems to me proof, if any is needed, that the United States of America is not the only object of terrorism. Rather, it is the idea of tolerance and religious and cultural diversity, symbolized both by New York City and by the United Nations, that is the object of the rage of a small group of men — men who live and die by terror and who have turned away from political debate to violence and death.

And so all of us here must play our part in the battle against mindless killing, and debate both the reasons for and the responses to terrorism. If there are disagreements and disputes, we should never forget that the very act of debate — the very idea of this forum — is anathema to those whose modus operandi is silence. What is telling, in my opinion, is not the identity of the perpetrator — we are quite certain who is responsible, although we have only begun to consider why — but the fact that the perpetrators, dead and alive, never admitted responsibility for their actions.

I would thus like to express the views of my country, the Principality of Andorra, in this debate. Andorra is a small country created in 1278 by a pact of peace, and is blessed with seven centuries of peace and a parliamentary system that started in 1419. We Andorrans like to think of our country as an example of tolerance and coexistence of different creeds and nationalities. Through the centuries, we have welcomed scores of refugees from European wars persecuted in their homelands for their ideas. Our Constitution, which enshrines the secularity of the State, includes a far-reaching bill of rights that highlights democracy and the rule of law. Let me therefore reaffirm, as our President, Marc Forné, stated immediately after the attacks, Andorra's condemnation of these crimes.

My country has taken appropriate measures to combat terrorism in all its forms, and I will be signing the United Nations Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism, the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and the Conventions of the Council of Europe against terrorism and corruption.

Let me assert Andorra's belief in the role of debate rather than violence as a necessary response to violence — its belief that the United Nations is a vital forum for world conversation, a forum whose principles, and indeed whose buildings, need to be celebrated and protected.

Mr. Sharma (Nepal), Vice-President, took the Chair.

Let us therefore ask ourselves what it is these terrorists want. In the videotape he released the day the American bombing began, their leader announced the following goals: first, the removal of American troops from Saudi Arabia; secondly, an end to the bombing of Iraq; and, finally, a resolution of the Palestinian problem.

It is worthwhile to note that both the presence of American troops in Saudi Arabia and the bombing of Iraq are the direct result of prior aggression. The international community has for decades sought a resolution to the Israeli-Palestinian crisis, but a solution, if one is to be found, must come first and foremost from within Israel and Palestine. Their peace, if it is to be reached, cannot be imposed from without.

While these are the proclaimed reasons for the hostility of the terrorist networks to the United States, one might come to the conclusion that these stated objectives are a screen, and that the attacks were made in order to bring about religious wars in the twenty-first century.

For the United States and its allies, it is a war against terrorism. But the terrorist networks claim it is a religious war, pitting Christianity against Islam. The old rhetoric of the Crusades, such as the loss of Al-Andalus — Andalusia — in 1492 and other battles from history are being invoked by the terrorists to inflame the feelings of Muslims throughout the world and to bring about a fundamentalist pan-Islamic entity. This is a delicate issue but we must face it head-on. This crisis can be contained only if we speak bluntly and rationally.

The terrorist networks invoke history — the history of religious war — to inflame sentiment. Their invocation of history, however, may be a tactical error. For history can be our ally in the battle against terrorism and violence.

I beg your pardon, but let us return to an earlier point in history, a bloody time of religious crisis in Europe — and I am speaking about the wars of religion that decimated sixteenth and seventeenth century Europe. Out of these wars of religion and out of the bloody struggles of the Reformation came a powerful

antidote to religious violence that we call humanism. The great French humanist Michel de Montaigne was a sceptic. He wrote about the limits to human knowledge in his remarkable *Essays*. In one of them, entitled "Of Practice," he observed that, although we can practice for many things in life, there is one thing for which we cannot practice, one thing we cannot know, and that is our own death. He went on to describe the closest he came to knowing death, an accident that happened when he fell from his horse. He had been out riding in a militia and was nearly crushed to death. He had a brief sensation of his soul hovering over his body, and, later, after being taken home, terrible pain continued to plague him.

At a time of religious extremism, when Catholics and Protestants were fighting over the keys to heaven — just as the 11 September terrorists died believing they would enter paradise — Montaigne wrote about the limits of knowledge. And he wrote about a personal experience, this accident, with which everybody, even now, can empathize. This is why he is called a humanist, because of his genuine interest in human experience.

There is no revealed truth in Montaigne, no dogmatism, only human scepticism that appears as an antidote — the only antidote — to the certainty of madmen who would kill for belief. This evolution in human thought was accomplished without sacrificing the freedom to believe, to have faith in God and to practice a religion. To think and write as Montaigne did — that is, to insist on the limits of knowledge, and to speak not in a universal but in a personal voice — was a great step forward for humankind. In turning knowledge away from religious certainty, the humanists allowed for a new field of understanding that we now call the sciences.

While inquisitions would carry on for a century — Galileo was a boy when Montaigne was writing — the scepticism that Montaigne advanced against religious violence in 1580 is the same as that which Boyle, Newton, or Lavoisier would apply to the universal truths of natural theology in order to create a way of understanding that we now recognize as scientific. Modern scientific understanding ushered in the industrial revolutions, the astonishing explosion of the middle class, of print culture and of the establishment of modern democracies. It introduced all of these "world-historical" events, to use Hegel's term that we call, rather sloppily, "modernity."

I conclude my intervention on the subject of modernity, because many commentators on the current war in Afghanistan see the war framed as a war between the Taliban, as Islamic extremists, and modernity. They cite the way in which the Taliban have banned all forms of mass media culture and have insisted on a literal application of *sharia* law. They argue that the Taliban are anti-modern and that their regime is trying to return its people to an earlier, pre-modern way of life. Yet, when we examine the lives of the 11 September terrorists, we realize first that they were not Afghans, and second, that they were not the wretched of the earth. They were from the middle class. Most were students, some with advanced degrees. They never even had to work hard for a living, like most members of the middle class. These men were privileged murderers. Or let me put it another way: they were fully modern.

The struggle between modernity and the anti-modern is not anachronistic. To be a terrorist demands that you enter, systematically and rationally, into the modern world and to turn its apparatus, such as transportation and communication, against it. The struggle against modernity is one of the most romantic myths generated by modernity itself. So, too, is the misrepresentation of the poor by certain writers and intellectuals — I need not name names — who claim to speak for them. The suffering sown in Afghanistan by decades of invasion and civil war, they argue, has brought terrorism as its terrible harvest. In fact, these poor want most of all to live, and to live well. They embrace modernity and its comforts. But violence, the ability to treat other people as objects, as things to be crushed and destroyed: this is a gift bestowed by education.

The struggle is therefore ideological. This is why education, the greatest gift, was a passport to terrorism for these men. The risk of education in this context is that the pressure of knowledge, or more precisely a recognition of uncertainties and of the limits of knowledge, will tempt the student into dogmatic belief. The danger always exists that education can harden from humanistic scepticism into the rock of dogma.

What is to be done? Today I propose an urgent return to a new humanism on two fronts: first, within Islam, a humanism among Muslims — politicians, writers, readers — that can dampen sectarian violence and that can reach out to religious extremism to find common ground. This can only come from within the

Islamic world. It does not have to be secular in nature, although secularism has an important yet increasingly threatened status within certain nations. Correspondingly, there must be recognition within political regimes everywhere that antipathy to political dissent politicizes religion and creates more problems for these regimes than it solves. Modernity's belief in democracy as a means to popular expression has never proved more vital.

Secondly, outside of Islam, a return to humanism lies at the heart of the modernity in which we are living. To recognize modernity and its great contribution, a secular and universal culture — mass culture — is something that needs to be protected and fought for. It is a modernity that insists on the rights of men, women and children.

We all know that words often do not lead to action. But we forget that words, the expression of ideas and of criticism, are a vital form of action. We cannot be simplistic in our desire for a direct relationship between debate and resolution.

What I am proposing is certainly not propaganda; rather, it is a worldwide debate on the importance of debate, in which human scepticism, a recognition of the limits of belief, is very much at stake. Whether this argument can be made in an urgent and anti-elitist way is very much the point. But unless we are able to recognize modernity as a liberating experience, independent of its accumulation of goods and services, creature comforts, and the like, I have little hope for a positive resolution to the crisis we now face.

Modernity is a work in process. One name for modernity, as it exists for us today, is globalization. This is the creation of a "world culture", the entry of technology into every aspect of our lives, the omnipresence of the media and the increasing speed by which culture and information are communicated. It seems to me that there is tragic confusion between globalization and abstract and oppressive technology. It is this notion of modernity that seems to be at the heart of the recent protests against globalization, protests that would have been the focus of our debates before 11 September. While the protesters have many valid points to make, and they need to be listened to, globalization and modernity are not the problem. Whether cooperation between nations is economic, political or cultural, it is not a threat. Leaders and intellectuals need to reach out and embrace the limits of knowledge. They must speak out against dogmatism to unravel facile notions of monolithic governments or global compacts.

An eye for an eye, that harsh principle from the Old Testament, will soon leave us blind. Blindness, rather than insight, is the curse of the ideologue, of people who do not want to see outside their own skins, their ideas or their place. It is the curse of people who do not want to see the world in its marvellous diversity, its uncertainty and its possibilities. To see this world, we have only to look around us here, now. We have only to wander through the streets of this miraculous city of New York.

The Acting President: I now give the floor to The Honourable John Manley, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Canada.

Mr. Manley (Canada): It is indeed an honour to be here in New York City and at the General Assembly. That we are gathered here now, just two months since the devastating terrorist attacks of 11 September, demonstrates both the resilience of this great city and the determination and defiance of a united global community.

Having spent last Sunday — like my friend Prime Minister Dzurinda of Slovakia — running through so many streets and communities of the five boroughs of New York City in the annual New York City Marathon, I have witnessed personally and been quite overwhelmed by the deep reserves of courage evident in this city and in all those individuals who are choosing to take back their lives and reject the menace of terror.

Our job is to galvanize and to focus the courage of nations — to transform sentiment into commitment, and commitment into action. Expressions of a common outrage are gratifying but they will never be enough to defeat terrorism. The ultimate success of our campaign — this long and extremely complex campaign — rests upon our collective ability to demonstrate leadership, to harness political will and to sustain the commitment that we have made to each other and to our citizens: that we will not allow crimes so vile, so immense and so shattering to the world to be unanswered or ever to be repeated.

In order to achieve these goals — and to merit the trust and fulfil the expectations placed in the United Nations and its constituent Member States — we

cannot go on as before. There can be no more "business as usual". There is no more time, there is no more patience and there are no more resources for diplomatic gamesmanship and the stoking of dangerous self-interest. National Governments must take responsibility and be held accountable for their actions and decisions — for fighting terrorism, for undertaking political and legal reforms, for resolving disputes and for establishing the conditions in which democracy flourishes and development is sustained.

(*spoke in French*)

The United Nations is now facing its greatest test ever since its creation. So far, the United Nations is performing admirably. The unity of purpose and effective decision-making that allowed swift passage of the landmark Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) and the rapid convening of a special debate on terrorism provide clear evidence of what we can accomplish together, and further underscore the reasons why this Organization and its esteemed Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, were deservedly recognized with the Nobel Peace Prize this year.

(*spoke in English*)

We cannot, however, afford to lose ourselves in complacency, self-congratulation or distraction. Our work has only just begun.

Horrific as the atrocities perpetrated on 11 September were, terrorism did not begin here. Unfortunately, too many of us in this Hall know this all too painfully. No, it did not begin here; but we as a global community have the responsibility, and now a renewed opportunity, to ensure that we end it — here.

The United Nations has a unique and indispensable role to play. While the campaign against terrorism will be conducted through coalitions of different State actors, alliances and organizations, this is where it must ultimately all come together in its political, diplomatic, legal, economic, humanitarian and security dimensions. We in Canada, as long-standing proponents of multilateralism and the United Nations system, have strongly welcomed the close collaboration evident between the United States Administration and the United Nations over these last two months.

In Canada, the campaign against terrorism, including the obligations we have undertaken here at the United Nations, is our highest priority. Our country, which shares with the United States the longest unmilitarized border in the world and the closest, most extensive and most profitable bilateral relationship anywhere, has been deeply affected by this crisis. Canadians, like Americans and citizens of many other nations, are concerned about their security, but also about what kind of a country and what kind of a world they are to live in after 11 September. The interlinked goals of protecting our citizens, providing assurance to our partners and allies and preserving the character of our free, democratic and diverse society have guided the actions and decisions of Prime Minister Chrétien and the Canadian Government throughout this crisis.

We have committed 2000 armed forces personnel, ships, aircraft and special forces to the international military coalition against terrorism; and at home, we have introduced a wide range of measures, legislation and new investments to bolster our security framework, including at the border and at our airports.

Canada welcomes the reporting and monitoring functions provided for in Security Council resolution 1373 (2001). We have already implemented many of its provisions and are moving quickly on the rest. We are well advanced in the preparation of our report and will provide it to the Counter-Terrorism Committee well ahead of the 90-day deadline. We urge other Member nations to demonstrate their continued resolve and solidarity by doing likewise. Canada is prepared to support those States for which implementation poses a great challenge.

As we take steps in compliance with resolution 1373 (2001), we are completing our ratification of the Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings and the Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism, which will make Canada a full party to all 12 existing United Nations counter-terrorism conventions. Negotiations are under way on the thirteenth convention, the comprehensive convention against international terrorism. That convention will ensure that all terrorist acts are condemned under international law. What is needed now is the political will to complete the negotiations. If not the General Assembly of the United Nations, then who? And if not now, then when? The time will never be more propitious, or the need greater.

Our international legal framework also requires a strong arms control, non-proliferation and disarmament regime. Implementation of the Ottawa Convention

banning anti-personnel mines is proceeding apace. To keep weapons of mass destruction from becoming employed as the instruments of evil, we are also hard at work to reinforce key instruments such as the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards, the Chemical Weapons Convention and the Biological Weapons Convention, all requiring strong multilateral action to ensure their full implementation.

I would also add that we are now very close to making the International Criminal Court a reality, with only 17 more ratifications to go. The creation of the Court will represent an extremely significant step in the ongoing struggle to eliminate impunity for the worst crimes known to humankind.

These are only the most immediate and most obvious steps to ensure our collective security, but our agenda must be far broader than this. Nothing has more violently shaken our sense of security than have the events of 11 September. But our conception of what constitutes security and the nature of the threats that may be posed to it was already undergoing dramatic evolution prior to the attacks.

The denial of human rights, the spread of HIV/AIDS, persistent mass poverty, unchecked environmental degradation and the blight of drugs and crime all undermine stability, reduce human potential and obstruct social and economic progress. They are threats to human security, as are discrimination and racism, which the Durban Conference was intended to address. Unfortunately, it failed to achieve its potential and instead provided a forum for propagating long-standing hatreds and biases, and the world is poorer for that.

The resolution and prevention of conflict must also remain at the highest order of United Nations business, but leadership and commitment are required if we are to move from a culture of reaction to one of prevention, as proposed by the Secretary-General.

Just a week ago, I ended a five-country visit to the Middle East. I was reassured by the commitments of my hosts to the fight against terrorism. As have others, I urged Israel and the Palestinians to put immediately into place measures that will bring them back to the negotiating table. That is their only way forward. The essential truth is that there is no alternative to peaceful coexistence. That conflict cannot go on forever and leaders must act now to bring it to an end. The international community must also increase its efforts to help bring about a just peace.

Finally, there is little that is more debilitating to humankind than the ravages of extreme poverty. This is most notable in Africa, which will be a principal focus for the G-8 in 2002, when Canada will assume the G-8 chair. Speaking at this rostrum in 1963, Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson, a Nobel Peace Prize winner, warned the world of the dangers of a growing disparity in economic and social development between nations. He urged that this "must be corrected before it creates an unbridgeable gulf between 'have' and 'have-not' nations" (*A/PV.1208, para. 60*). That was 38 years ago and the challenge remains more acute than ever.

The pledges of the Millennium Summit in September 2000 must not be overshadowed by the urgency of the events that have taken place one year later. Indeed, their fulfilment can and must form an integral component of how we create a strong, equitable global environment that can be neither attacked nor exploited by terrorists.

Terrorism does not speak to us; it does not speak for anyone but criminals and murderers and it only serves to undermine the causes they purport to represent. It does not represent Islam; it does not reflect the will of the Afghan people.

(*spoke in French*)

The fate of the Afghan people must remain sharply in our focus. That country has been so neglected, so abused and so driven into isolation by its self-appointed rulers that it could not even be ranked on the most recent United Nations human development index. The rights of its people — notably women and girls — have been blatantly and repeatedly violated.

(*spoke in English*)

An acute humanitarian crisis is building and we must do more, working with United Nations agencies and other relief organizations, to ensure that civilians — including refugees and internally displaced persons — are protected and have access to food and to aid.

For this reason, Canada responded to the United Nations humanitarian appeal, adding further resources to the $160 million in aid that we had already provided over the last 10 years. We were also pleased at the prompt appointment of Lakhdar Brahimi — who has

played such an integral role in the reform of United Nations peacekeeping — as the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Afghanistan. Canada has pledged to work with Ambassador Brahimi and other coalition States to support the Afghan people in the search for a stable, fair and effective administration that can begin the enormous task of leading Afghanistan forward to a more secure and hopeful future.

The opportunities for progress towards a more free, prosperous and peaceful world have always been before us. In the haze of self-interest and competing priorities, sometimes our global community has not seen them so clearly. The enormous horror of 11 September has offered us that clarity, just as it has concentrated minds and catalysed relationships. It has given us a renewed basis for cooperation between States both in and outside the United Nations, driven not only by the United States and its traditional allies, including Canada, but also through opportunities for leadership provided to Russia and China, to India and Pakistan, to countries of the Middle East, North Africa, Asia and elsewhere in the resolution of this crisis.

Terrorism globalizes us. It globalizes outrage and condemnation, just as it does compassion and the cry for justice. We must ensure that terrorism also globalizes a sustained commitment to bringing about its end.

Tomorrow, 11 November, Canada and other United Nations Member nations will mark our annual Remembrance Day. On this day, we remember and honour the men and women who have fought and sacrificed for our freedom. This week in New York, I hope that we will all take time to remember what it is that we are together working — and, yes, fighting — for today: for freedom, for peace and for justice, and for the dignity and realization of the potential of all peoples everywhere.

As we make our speeches, file our papers and press forward our resolutions in this great Hall, let us also remember that the words "United Nations" — coined by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1942 — not only refer to an Organization or a name on a building, but were first and foremost a declaration of solidarity and of a common vision for a better world.

The Acting President: I call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zimbabwe, His Excellency Mr. Stanislaus Mudenge.

Mr. Mudenge (Zimbabwe): My delegation congratulates Mr. Han Seung-soo on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its fifty-sixth session. His election to that office is a demonstration of the confidence and trust that the international community has placed in him to steer it through the challenges of our time. It is our fervent hope that, through his leadership, this Assembly will translate the Millennium Declaration into reality.

I would also like to take this opportunity to thank his predecessor, Mr. Harri Holkeri of Finland, for the sterling work accomplished during the past session of the Assembly.

Today, I am privileged to join others in congratulating Mr. Kofi Annan for his re-election as United Nations Secretary-General for a second term. Mr. Annan's re-election is indeed both a testimony to and recognition of his unique and rare abilities to give leadership, vision and unity of purpose to the international community in meeting the challenges that face us today. This recognition has been amply demonstrated by the conferment of the prestigious Nobel Peace Prize on the person of the Secretary-General and on the United Nations. I congratulate both Mr. Annan and the United Nations.

The Secretary-General enters the elite corps of Nobel laureates at a time of most serious challenge to international solidarity and cooperation, as we reflect on the events of 11 September, when the people of the United States of America, and indeed the whole world, were plunged into unprecedented sorrow in the wake of the heinous terrorist attacks here in New York and in Washington. This is indisputably the most brutal act of terrorism in this new millennium. Our hearts go out to the families who lost their loved ones, and indeed all the people and the Government of the United States. It is our duty as Members of this world body, which stands for global harmony, peace and security, to say "Never again" to such vileness. Zimbabwe lost two of its nationals in those tragic attacks.

As the people of the United States grapple with the threat posed by biological weapons of mass destruction in the form of anthrax, we in Zimbabwe, who have hitherto been the greatest victims of this weapon, know what it means and what they are going through. For during our own liberation struggle, anthrax was used as a weapon of mass destruction by the racist regime of Ian Smith. The anthrax was

developed by the apartheid regime in South Africa under the guidance of Dr. Basson, better known as "Dr. Death", who then supplied it to Ian Smith. Many Zimbabweans perished both before and after independence. The anthrax spores that were spread by the racist regime of Ian Smith during our liberation struggle more than 20 years ago continue to claim victims exclusively within the black population of our country to this day. More people and cattle have died of anthrax this year in Zimbabwe than elsewhere in the world. Thus not only are we vehemently opposed to this evil scourge and other forms of terrorism, but we also know the pain and loss associated with it.

In my address to the General Assembly at last year's session, I dwelt at length on the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Since that time, some progress has been made in implementing the ceasefire agreement in that country. All those involved in the process — the signatories to the ceasefire agreement and the United Nations Security Council — are agreed that conditions are favourable for the deployment of United Nations peacekeepers under phase III of the deployment of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC). As a matter of fact, just yesterday, the Security Council adopted resolution 1376 (2001), supporting the launching of phase III deployment of MONUC. Nevertheless, the Security Council, by adopting what it calls a step-by-step approach, continues to show excessive caution or hesitancy, almost indistinguishable from lack of commitment or confidence, in the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. This is the major threat to that peace process today.

I wish to renew our appeal to the Security Council to more strongly and convincingly demonstrate its support for peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo by providing adequate human, financial and other resources. In this context, we note that as of 30 September 2001, unpaid assessed contributions for MONUC to the Democratic Republic of the Congo special account amounted to $246.9 million. In addition, the trust fund established by the Secretary-General in October 1999 to support the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo had, two years later, received only the paltry sum of $1.1 million.

The serious matter of inadequate resources was one of the major factors that contributed to the curtailment, both in number of participants and in duration, of the inter-Congolese dialogue in Addis Ababa last month. We welcome and appreciate South Africa's offer to host the next session of the national dialogue and meet some of the related expenses. We hasten to add, however, that South Africa must not be burdened and abandoned because of this generosity and willingness to contribute to the peacemaking efforts. We all must play our part in restoring peace and stability to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and indeed to the Great Lakes region.

The continued unnecessary suffering and loss of life among the civilians in Angola are indefensible. Through the Sanctions Committee and other measures, we have determined that UNITA must be denied and deprived of the resources and means to continue to wage war against the Angolan people. It is time that we ensure that those sanctions are indeed effective by not only respecting that sanctions regime ourselves, but also exposing those who continue to aid and abet UNITA in its deadly activities.

The situation in the Middle East demands urgent action and resolution on the basis of the long-standing Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). The question of a Palestinian State brooks no delay. Israel must bite the bullet and accept that until a Palestinian State becomes a reality, there can never be lasting peace in the Middle East.

I must express our concern over the lack of progress in the area of reforming the Security Council to make it more democratic and fully representative of the aspirations of a large section of the international community which has had a limited voice for far too long. It is our considered view that conflict resolution around the globe could be enhanced by a reformed and more representative Security Council.

On the eve of the Doha meeting, my delegation would like to stress that necessary measures must be taken to strengthen the ability of developing countries to be integrated in a beneficial way into the global system. The human and institutional capacities of developing countries must be strengthened, and more emphasis must be placed on enhancing the role of trade and development, with better access provided for goods and services from developing countries. Currently, we are experiencing a situation in which developing countries in general, and African, Caribbean and Pacific countries in particular, seem to lose through the

World Trade Organization arrangement the little that they had gained, even from previous protocols.

One of the most enduring features of the present and of the latter part of the last century has been the persistence of the colonial legacy in many developing countries. That legacy has been evident in relations between and within States. We need not recall much more evidence of the persistence of this phenomenon than the proceedings of the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, held in Durban, South Africa, barely two months ago.

The continued refusal on the part of some former colonial Powers to acknowledge the devastating effects that colonialism has had, and continues to have, on the economic development of most of the former colonies has also been much in evidence. It is no accident that it is those former colonies that today occupy the lower rungs of the development totem pole.

In Zimbabwe, the colonial legacy is poignantly evident in the racially skewed land-ownership structure, which is a direct result of racist policies and the laws of successive colonial regimes between 1890 and 1980. Over 70 per cent of the arable land — the best of that land — is owned and utilized by less than 1 per cent of the population, represented by approximately 4,100 white farmers, most of them of British descent, while nearly 13 million black Zimbabweans eke out a living from the remaining 30 per cent — the worst of the arable land. Such a situation has to be corrected in the interests of equity, justice, social harmony and political stability in the country and, indeed, in our region of southern Africa.

My Government has begun a land reform and redistribution programme, which, while ensuring that more people are settled on acquired land, will leave the current owners with only one farm each. At present, some of them own 18 farms each — and an average farm in Zimbabwe is 2,000 hectares. Some, like the Openheimer family, own land that is nearly the size of Belgium — one man owns property the size of Belgium in Zimbabwe. My Government's land reform programme guarantees that none of the white farmers will be left landless. Every existing white farmer who wants to farm is assured of getting one farm. The programme is not about total alienation or dispossession, but about equitable redistribution. What is more generous or equitable than that?

As to who should pay for compensation, we reached understandings and agreements with the former colonial master when we negotiated our independence at Lancaster House in 1979. Obligations to pay compensation were assumed by the former colonial Power. Provided that all parties honour their obligations, the so-called land crisis in Zimbabwe will evaporate overnight. That is the crisis in my country, to which the spokesman of the European Union referred from this rostrum. Zimbabwe has policemen in Kosovo, policemen in Sierra Leone and policemen in East Timor. We are trying to bring peace to the Congo. We do not have a crisis; we have a land dispute.

The lofty objectives of the United Nations Charter in the economic arena will remain unfulfilled unless all Member States join in efforts, genuinely and seriously, to redress inherited colonial imbalances that persist in developing countries. Social justice, political stability and sustainable development in Zimbabwe can be better achieved through genuine and committed support for land redistribution programmes than through the vilification or demonization of its leadership and policies.

It is most unfortunate that our efforts at rectifying unsustainable colonial imbalances are seen by some as a crisis; the real crisis lies in the persistence of that legacy. Zimbabweans are resolved to correct that colonial injustice, in spite of the outcry from some quarters by people who regard the defence of the present injustice as their historic responsibility. It is unacceptable that a minority, whether black or white, should own over 70 per cent of the best arable land in any country. That may be acceptable in some countries; in Zimbabwe, we have decided to say "No".

The HIV/AIDS pandemic has become a serious developmental issue. As the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization (A56/1) indicates, the pandemic is destroying the economic and social fabric in our countries. Zimbabwe's infection rate among the adult population is estimated to be 30 per cent, while hundreds of thousands of children have already been orphaned as a result of this dreaded disease. In the light of this, my Government and, indeed, those of other developing countries, will need all the assistance we can get to complement our own efforts. We look forward to having this issue be seriously addressed by the international community.

The international community should develop strategies to ensure that AIDS drugs developed by pharmaceutical companies become more affordable for developing countries. Let me extend my sincere thanks to the Secretary-General for convening the special session on HIV/AIDS in June this year. We hope that the implementation of the resolutions of that conference will go some way towards checking the spread of the disease.

In conclusion, let me assure one and all that Zimbabwe will partner all international efforts towards the eradication of terrorism in all its forms, as well as exert all its energy in combating the pestilences that afflict humanity, especially poverty and underdevelopment.

The Acting President: I now give the floor to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Honduras, His Excellency Mr. Roberto Flores Bermúdez.

Mr. Flores Bermúdez (Honduras) (*spoke in Spanish*): At this juncture, when humanity is faced with various challenges, it is essential that the United Nations receive the broadest and most firm support as it plays the role of coordinator of our collective efforts.

The 2001 Nobel Peace Prize, awarded to the Secretary-General and to the United Nations as a whole, is a further reaffirmation of trust in this universal Organization, which was created to banish violence and to further human development. We warmly congratulate the Secretary-General and the officials and employees of the Organization.

The international turmoil brought about by the terrorist attack of 11 September against the people and the Government of the United States of America, as well as against the highest values of the civilized world, has radically altered the way in which we think about international security. Our own people are not immune from this new reality. Buried under the rubble of the World Trade Center are the remains of Hondurans who had come to this country to turn their hopes into reality. The President of the United States, in his statement this morning, referred to the many countries whose nationals perished in the twin towers. It is, indeed, an international phenomenon.

The Presidents of the Central American countries, at the invitation of the President of Honduras, Mr. Carlos Flores, met in Honduras on 19 September and adopted specific joint steps to be taken at the subregional level to combat terrorism. The purpose is to contribute, within our modest capacities, to that end, which is synonymous with the maintenance of international peace and security. Those steps include controls on migration and financial flows and intelligence sharing in the framework of the Organization of American States and the United Nations.

The Government of Honduras notes with deep concern the escalating violence in the Middle East. In the light of the circumstances at the time, we supported the establishment of the State of Israel. Today, we want to use this international forum, which plays a critical role in the search for a solution in the region, to reaffirm the right of Israel to exist as a sovereign, free and secure States. We also support recognition of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of a Palestinian State. We are convinced that that constitutes a suitable formula for real peace in the Middle East.

In his introductory remarks today, the Secretary-General expressed his grief and revulsion at the cowardly acts of international terrorism. He also wisely noted that none of the other problems before us has become any less urgent. In addition to terrorism, other grave dangers threaten peace and the well-being of individuals. Among them is HIV/AIDS, which was the focus of a special session of the General Assembly, held from 25 to 27 June 2001. That collective endeavour led to the establishment of a global HIV/AIDS and health fund to support joint measures against the pandemic. The special session raised the level of understanding of the scope of the pandemic, which goes beyond health, because it also has a social and economic impact.

The June session forged links of cooperation among nations with a view to sharing experience and solutions in the fight against HIV/AIDS. In particular, it is essential to reduce the cost of drugs: in Honduras, as in many other countries, most of the infected and their families cannot afford the necessary treatment. Brazil's agreements with pharmaceutical companies in this field are worthy of emulation. This should be a goal in dealing with diseases that hit the developing countries hardest.

In Honduras, we are encouraged by the fact that the rate at which the virus is spreading has slowed. Forecasts two years ago overestimated today's levels of

infection – although these continue to be high. The United Nations Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization is helping us to set up a regional AIDS prevention centre at San Pedro Sula to serve the entire Central American region.

Extreme poverty is another major threat to the peace and welfare of individuals. Here too, the United Nations deserves the support of the entire international community in helping overcome the causes of extreme poverty through strategic measures aimed at offering opportunities to sectors that are now excluded so that they can enjoy a decent life and be a productive part of their societies. That does not mean only vocational and technological training; ignoring the hardship caused by widespread illiteracy would amount to condemning 70 per cent of the world's population to wretchedness. The United Nations has come forward with valuable international initiatives.

For its part, Honduras has adopted a poverty reduction strategy in which education plays a fundamental role. This grew out of a national consensus which in turn holds the key to country's recovery and transformation in the aftermath of hurricane Mitch.

The United Nations must promote fundamental democratic freedoms, including participation and legitimate representation in decision-making processes. Here the Organization has played an ever-growing role in facilitating dialogue and promoting consensus. In recent years, Honduras has held a national dialogue in a variety of fields of vital importance for the nation's future. The results have been promising. In addition to formulating a national-reconstruction plan to overcome the unprecedented damage caused by hurricane Mitch three years ago, the Government of President Carlos Flores, in one of the broadest consultative processes in our history as a republic, has, together with our people, adopted a 15-year strategy for poverty reduction. That is the first plan of its kind, arrived at through a national consensus, to be adopted by my country.

Alleviating poverty, overcoming educational backwardness, responding to epidemics and reducing our vulnerability to natural phenomena: all are linked to economic output and to its intelligent distribution. We are thus aware that it is not only underpinnings in the form of programmes that are needed; fairness and justice in international trade are also required. To be consistent with the rhetoric of international trade, we need better access to major markets. Agricultural products of developed countries must no longer be so heavily subsidized, so that the products of those of us who are handicapped by our level of development can be more competitive in line with the principles of that rhetoric. What is good for some should be good for all. We need a level playing field that takes into account asymmetries and conditions on all sides.

Political maturity in Member States is intimately bound up with how well those States meet their international obligations. Peace, tranquillity, the ability to cooperate and interdependence are all intertwined with how seriously international relations are conducted. The much-quoted third paragraph of the preamble of the Charter of the United Nations says that we, the peoples of the United Nations, are determined

> "to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained".

Indeed, adherence to the principle of *pacta sunt servanda* and other sources of international obligations is a factor for building trust among States. Its absence poses a threat to the Organization's guiding spirit and to the principles that are its pillars.

The President of Mexico, His Excellency Mr. Vicente Fox, has invited the States of the Caribbean to attend a conference to promote the implementation of their commitments on maritime limits under the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. As a State party to that Convention, my country supports the Mexican Government's initiative. Moreover, on a bilateral level, we are pursuing in good faith and in conformity with international law the early conclusion of treaties on maritime limits with our Caribbean Sea neighbours. We applaud the efforts now under way under a special process, sponsored by the Organization of American States, by our neighbours Belize and Guatemala towards a final solution to the century-long territorial dispute. Such a solution should include, to the extent possible and with the participation of the three States directly concerned — Belize, Guatemala and Honduras — the adoption of stable legal agreements on cooperation in the Gulf of Honduras.

Honduras believes that disputes are an integral part of inter-State relations. What is alarming is not that there should be differences between States; rather, it is the attitude with which they are approached.

Similarly, we note that domestic political concerns should not be allowed to interfere with shared interests in subregional integration. To allow our domestic political goals to affect our integration process would mean endangering the future of integration itself, and thus the future of the shared interests of the Central American countries.

We have a united Organization, all of whose various bodies and specialized agencies are working ever more closely together in pursuit of specific objectives. This is a time of extraordinary importance for the international community and hence for the United Nations and all of its Member States. Accordingly, we must work ever harder to promote the values of peace and human development that we all share. In this endeavour, all countries, small and large, must abide by the guidelines which we, the majority, have agreed upon in order to save our planet from climate change, whose damaging effects are making themselves felt everywhere.

At this juncture the Organization should continue and expand its leadership and allow all peaceful international players, including the Republic of China on Taiwan, to participate in the joint combat against the renewed threats to peace, security and the welfare of all nations. All of this applies to the international arena.

At the national level, organization at the local community level is essential in order to dispel uncertainty, overcome indifference and strengthen human solidarity based on reason. This was the case during the recent floods along the Atlantic coast of Honduras. As a result of the preparation and prevention programmes promoted by the Administration of President Flores, the loss of life was minimal, and emergency support services operated effectively and in a timely manner. This was because the local communities had learned how to prevent most of the damage caused by such natural phenomena.

The lesson is clear: at the national and international levels, we must try to organize our work as individuals and as countries and to coordinate those efforts in order to reduce our vulnerability in all areas, be they environmental, economic, political or security-related, on the basis of the principles of a culture of peace, which we have agreed upon together.

In a few months' time, President Flores will conclude his term of office. He will leave behind a stable country with transparency restored, the rule of law strengthened and a macroeconomic administration recognized by the international community — a country that has recorded positive economic growth despite having suffered the greatest natural disaster in our history.

I conclude this address — the last to be delivered by the present Government of Honduras in the General Assembly's general debate — by conveying the greetings and appreciation of the people of Honduras and of the Government of President Flores to the international community and to all of the peoples who have stood by us during the most difficult moments of our history. Those have included, as we will all recall, the terrible hurricane of 1998 and its negative consequences, which have affected us ever since. We Hondurans have renewed our faith in international solidarity and have grown stronger in our conviction that the destiny of our nation and of our planet hinges on what we are doing today to build a future for our nations.

The meeting rose at 7.20 p.m.